PRESIDENT'S SECRETARY'S FILE:
Diplomatic Correspondence w/ Germany: 1940-41

PSF: Germany

January 11, 1940.

For leaflet dropped by British planes over Germany in November 1939 which was given to the President by Oswald Garrison Villard who got it in Germany.

See:Gen Corres-Villard-Drawer 3-1940

PSF: Germany

January 11, 1940.

Memo to Hull from the President

Subject: The closing of American Consul Generalship at Warsaw and Consulate at Danzig---both important centers. The President believes we should tell Germany that we see no reason why she should have Consuls in Chicago and San Francisco.

See: Hull folder-Drawer 1-1940

1296

b01

PSF: [illegible]

COPY

January 14, 1940.

MEMO:

By telephone from Secretary Hull

THE PRESIDENT

"The Netherlands Legation has received a telegram from the Hague, to the effect that their information as well as that of Belgium is that a German attack on the low countries is to be expected sometime this week."

Tel and Tel

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Germany
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January 19, 1940.

Re-Memo to Hull from FDR-Jan 19, 1940

Subject: Inhuman treatment of Professors of the Jagellonian University at Cracow and their appeal from Rome (Despatch No 39) for help. They are in concentration Camps.

See: Hull--drawer 1-1940

1296

TELEGRAM

PSF: Germany

The White House
Washington

File Germany Confidential

(BY COURTESY OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS)

BERLIN, March 10, 1940. ---

In one of the shortest speeches of his career, Adolf Hitler today said that Germany, fighting a war "forced on us by imperialist England and France" was determined that eventual peace must be established for centuries."

The Führer spoke only eleven minutes and his words were devoted principally to praise of Germany's war dead and to repeated assertions that the German people, "cleansed of the forces of destruction" stand behind their armed forces in a fight for existence.

Hitler emphasized the theme that national unity must be superior to classes and creeds as a German way of life.

He recalled that universal military service was reintroduced in Germany five years ago today and said that was a symbol of the restoration of the people to a national dignity unique in history.

ROME -- March 10 --

Germany's Foreign Minister Von Ribbentrop and Premier Mussolini had a lengthy conference today. The communique said they had a "cordial" talk and would meet again tomorrow.

LONDON-, March 10 -- Sumner Welles arrived tod

--oOo--

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PSF: Germany

April 4, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR GENERAL WATSON FROM SUMNER WELLES:

Enclosing despatch from Ambassador Biddle of Feb 28, 1940 re attached copy and translation of authenticated copy of confidential instruction recently issued to the press in Germany and German occupied Poland, by the German propaganda Ministry.

Minister Zaleski gave the copy to Amb Biddle and informed him in strictest confidence that it had been secured and forwarded to him by Prince Janusz Radziwill.

See: France folder-Drawer 4-1940(April 4, 1940 letter)

1296

THE BILTMORE
New York

file personal

Dear Miss Lehand:-

I am taking the liberty of sending you a copy of a memorandum which I have left at the Department and which contains some things in relation to this which I talked with the President.

Most of the material in

I fly back to Berlin tomorrow.

With cordial regards and in sincere admiration, believe me,

Yours very truly

Alexander Kirk.

June 19th.

[1940]

disposed on the boat but perhaps you would care to glance over these notes.

I appreciate so much your kindness to me and hope that we may have another talk soon. It distresses me that I was not given more time here to see those who have not the vision that you and the President have and raise my feeble voice in telling them how tragically wrong they are.

CONFIDENTIAL

PSF: Bonnet

MEMORANDUM

June 17, 1940

Up to the eighth of April of this year, when Hitler marched into Denmark and attacked Norway, those who realized the incalculable destruction in material, social, and spiritual values which the outbreak of the war in the West would entail were justified in hoping, if not in believing, that such a war might be avoided. The problems facing the world which had not only failed of solution in the World War but had been developing in acuteness since Versailles had attained such magnitude in proportion and such complication in kind that the possibility of solution no longer lay within the operation of human capacities. The only possibility, therefore, of avoiding the overwhelming consequences of a totalitarian war was that, through the lapse of time and abstention from any further impetus, these problems which were preventing the organization of an ordered world might through natural processes gradually reduce themselves to proportions which placed them within the capacities of governments to solve by orderly methods. Hitler's move against Denmark and Norway, however, settled once and for all the possibility of such a solution. That action did not even observe the meager fiction which had

been

been evoked in order to justify the absorption of Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland and could be given no other characterization than that of a deliberate violation of the sovereignty and national integrity of neutral countries solely for the strategical purpose of furthering the military aims of a belligerent. From that date the world was confronted with the absolute certainty that the elements of reason, intelligence and practical sense were no longer applicable, that the exercise of force was the sole factor involved and that this factor could be opposed only by force.

The power of the German military machine was never in doubt and, whatever may have been the opinion regarding the resources of Germany both as to material and as to morale, there never should have been any question that Nazi Germany if faced with firm opposition by the Allies would within a reasonable time be confronted with a limitation on the exercise of its military strength through the operation of restraining influences both material and psychological within the country. The element of surprise in the present situation is the failure of the opposition to combat that strength effectively and that failure, which, on the other hand, has weakened if not destroyed confidence abroad in its ultimate check, confronts the American people with the

the necessity of weighing the consequences to the world in general and to the United States in particular of the success of the German armies in Europe.

The United States is the only power in the world which can effectively oppose Hitler now and in the future and he knows it. It is easy to say that it may be assumed that the territory of the United States is safe in so far as Nazi aspirations are concerned or even that in the post-war plan of the regime a world is envisaged in which the United States will maintain its established position in cooperation with the German hegemony in its extended spheres of influence, and the utterances of Hitler himself would tend to quiet any fears to the contrary. The development of Nazi aims in the past, however, and the contradiction in fact which have characterized his other assurances would not justify any belief in those assumptions. It is also easy to assume that, even if Hitler intends to launch an offensive against the Western Hemisphere, the United States, with the assistance of the British and French fleets, can oppose and destroy Hitler after he has established his domination in Europe; and, finally, the assumption may be offered that as there is a limit to what the power galvanized by one human being can achieve, time and the extension of that power will eventually negative its effectiveness.

The

The answers to these assumptions, however, are that no opposition from across the Atlantic can check the impetus gained by the possibility of the extension of Nazi power from Bordeaux to Vladivostok and, furthermore, that the policy of fatigue and hopelessness which is already manifest in the people of all countries will, before the Nazi regime becomes ineffective, develop into a sense of despair with the same destruction of material, social and spiritual values which has marked the establishment of the Soviet regime in Russia.

The position of America, therefore, is clear. There will be no place for the United States in the world envisaged by Hitler, and he will exercise his power with a view to eliminating it as a great power as soon as possible. He will not attack the Americas by force, as he can attain his aims by other methods, once he has established his domination over the countries of Europe. He will strangle the United States economically and financially and even if he does not succeed in breaking down the solidarity of the countries of the Western Hemisphere which may be precarious at present, he will confront the United States within a brief measure of time with the impossible task of adjusting its system to an economy in which it will be excluded from access to all foreign markets. The fight, therefore, which is now being waged in Europe is a war for the preservation of the

American

American order, and complete defeat of the Allies in the present battles is the defeat of the United States.

This war, however, is a war of machines and men and the United States has not enough of either to turn the tide in the present battles. It is true that the superiority of the German armies has achieved the successes up to the present, but there is something else which has contributed with cumulative effect to German military triumphs. There has been generated in Europe an intangible force of power and success on the one side and weakness and defeat on the other which is giving permanency to German gains and which is building up a resistance in the German people to the strain of the war and its sacrifice. That force can be deflected by the demonstration of another force even if the actual power is only in the making and an alignment of the Government of the United States against Hitler and his associates will constitute that force. That alignment must be immediate, it must be open and unequivocal, and it must be supported by the extension of material help which if meager in its initiation can be developed rapidly to great dimensions.

It is said that the public opinion in the United States has undergone a tremendous transformation within the past weeks but is not yet ready for such a move. This impetus, however,

however, could be immeasurably increased by declarations from the leaders in the United States that the fate of the United States is being determined at this moment on the battlefields of Europe, that eventually the United States must fight for the preservation of its existence, that a realistic demonstration of courage with a modicum of offensive measures now is worth the most extensive plans and the most colossal measures of defense in the future and that the immediate injection of the United States into the struggle on the side of right would constitute no more than an act of self-preservation in which the risk entailed may be no greater now than later and in which the chance of turning the tide of success may be regarded as more favorable.

It is true that the American people in order to unite in action must be convinced that a peaceful solution of the present conflict is impossible, that only the employment of force remains, and that they are the ultimate arbiters of the destinies of mankind under the order which has hitherto prevailed. To that end the Government of the United States should submit to the belligerent governments confidentially and without consultation with foreign elements proposals for a peace which is regarded as compatible with an ordered world. If that peace is rejected, and it is scarcely a matter of conjecture as to the side from which that rejection

would

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would come, a declaration should be issued that the United States will oppose with force the further extension of the methods of force in Europe, and that declaration should be accompanied as a natural consequence with a rupture of diplomatic relations with Germany and Italy.

Respectfully submitted,

Alexander C. Kirk

ANNEX:

SUGGESTIONS FOR A PEACE PROPOSAL

File personal

Suggestions for a proposal for peace to be submitted to the Chiefs of State and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, France, Germany and Italy. The proposal should be presented through diplomatic channels both in Washington and in the respective capitals and should be confidential and unattended by any publicity.

AN IMMEDIATE ARMISTICE BASED ON AN AGREEMENT
TO GIVE EFFECT TO THE FOLLOWING ARRANGEMENTS

TERRITORIAL

The reestablishment of the 1914 frontiers of Germany with the inclusion of the Sudetenland and Austria and the exclusion of Alsace-Lorraine.

The restoration of the German colonies.

The evacuation by Germany of Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and France.

Bohemia-Moravia to be autonomous, within the Reich.

The cession of Gibraltar to Spain and its defortification.

The maintenance of the Suez Canal as an open and unfortified waterway.

The cession of Djibouti to Italy, the sale to Italy of the railroad to Addis Ababa and shares in the Suez Canal, the cession of Malta and Cyprus to Italy, and such other adjustments in the Mediterranean and Africa as may be necessary to safeguard Italian established interests.

The establishment of an independent Polish State with a free port on the Baltic and guaranteed right of passage for goods over German territory.

ECONOMIC

An undertaking on the part of the states of Western, Northern, Central and Southern Europe to abolish as rapidly as feasible, with due regard to the protection of their internal economy, measures of exchange control, quotas, contingents, and other barriers to freer circulation of trade.

The immediate establishment of a customs union combined with determined monetary relationships, of which the German Reich, the Polish State, and Bohemia and Moravia should form the nucleus and which should be adhered to by the states of Eastern Europe and of the Danube and by such other states as may choose to adhere.

An undertaking on the part of the United States to aid both for monetary and industrial reorganization throughout this transitory period by the use of its gold reserve and by other appropriate methods, and to aid in the relief of destitute populations during the period of reconstruction.

LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

An agreement on the part of the principal belligerent powers, with the collaboration of such other powers as they may deem it advisable to invite, to a limitation of armaments on the following basis:

Land:

The abolition and destruction of all mobile cannon of greater calibre than six inches.

A limitation on tanks by both size and numbers.

Air:

The abolition of bombers and prohibition of manufacture thereof.

A limitation by numbers on fighting and observation planes.

Sea:

The abolition of capital ships and aircraft carriers.

The limitation of numbers of 10,000 ton cruisers, which will take into account the needs of the British Overseas Empire in the same sense that Germany's needs on the continent are taken into consideration by the omission of limitation of numbers of trained recruits.

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The establishment of a permanent disarmament commission with the right of inspection as to provisions of the agreement and for study of future measures of limitation.

GENERAL

The immediate establishment of a body or commission composed of representatives of those states affected by the proposed territorial arrangements, for the purpose of putting into effect those arrangements.

The concurrent establishment of a body or commission composed of representatives of the great belligerent states and such others as they may invite, for the purpose of inaugurating at once commercial relationships between those states and the states of the rest of the world, of putting into effect the economic adjustments outlined above, and of devising long-range plans for economic reconstruction, for the access to raw materials, and for the restoration of liberal trade practices throughout the world.

The establishment of a body or commission composed of representatives of the principal belligerent states and of such other states as may be invited to join, with a view to devising means of establishing and safeguarding peaceful relationships between nations on a permanent and durable basis, and to establishing such bodies, institutions, or organs as may be found necessary in order to give effect to the foregoing.

November 13, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I believe you will find of interest a letter which I have received from the First Secretary of the American Embassy in Berlin under date of October 21. In this letter Mr. Heath reports to me a conversation which he had with Dr. Schacht in continuation of the procedure I suggested to him when I left Berlin last March. I am attaching a copy of this letter herewith.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Sumner Welles

Enc.
From Mr. Heath,
October 21, 1940.

The President,

The White House.

For original of this letter and report of conversation of Heath
See: Sumner Welles-Drawer 1-1940(November 13, 1940 letter)

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October 2, 1940.

Dear Alex:-

I have your very nice letter of September first and I can understand perfectly the reasons which prompted you to send it. However, the situation in the world is such and the conditions confronting the United States are such that I feel your ability and experience are very much needed in the Government during these trying days.

May I ask you, therefore, to reconsider and stay on at least until conditions improve? I shall regard it as a personal favor to me, and I repeat that your leaving the Service would mean an inestimable loss to the Government of a very devoted and able public servant.

With warm personal regards,

Always sincerely,

Alexander C. Kirk, Esq.,
Charge d'Affaires ad interim,
Berlin,
Germany.

1296

Dear Alex:-

I have your very nice letter of September first and I can understand perfectly the reasons which prompted you to send it. However, the situation in the world is such and the conditions confronting the United States are such that I feel your ability and experience is very much needed in the Government during these trying days.

May I ask you, therefore, to reconsider and stay on at least until conditions improve? I shall regard it as a personal favor to me, and I repeat that your leaving the Service would mean an inestimable loss to the Government of a very devoted and able public servant.

With warm personal regards,

Always sincerely,

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

September 30, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

In response to your memorandum of September 28 attached to a letter from Alexander Kirk in Berlin I am enclosing herewith draft of proposed reply to Mr. Kirk. However, it has seemed necessary to transfer Mr. Kirk from Berlin to Rome. Mr. Phillips' failure to return to his post and the resignation of the present Counselor in Rome have indicated the wisdom of utilizing the former experience and the abilities of Kirk by assigning him as Chargé d'Affaires in Rome. Mr. Kirk has reluctantly accepted the charge. He is now coming to the United States on orders for consultation and is expected to return almost immediately to assume his duties in Rome. Under the circumstances you may wish

The President,

The White House.

wish to withhold signature from the proposed letter and allow me to discuss the matter with him on his arrival, which is expected to be about October 20.

Faithfully yours,

Cordell Hull

Enclosures:
From Mr. Kirk, September 1, 1940;
Proposed draft reply.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Alex.

My dear ~~Mr. Kirk~~:

I am unable to agree to the suggestion that you resign at this time. I need not say that I think I realize some of the reasons which move you, but the situation in the world is such and the conditions confronting the United States are such that I must request you to forego your purpose, at least until such time as conditions change so that your ability and experience may not be lost to the Government in these trying days.

Sincerely yours,

Alexander C. Kirk, Esquire,
Chargé d'Affaires ad interim,
Berlin.

Personal and ~~Confidential~~

Berlin, September 1, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I am writing to ask that I may be authorized to return to the United States in the near future unless an intensification of military or political developments in the immediate future should appreciably add to the work of this Embassy.

I would be lacking in frankness if I did not indicate the reason why I wish to come home. During my recent brief visit there I was deeply impressed in my talks with some of those with whom I came in contact by their misconception and, indeed, ignorance of the relation of our national life to the struggles which are now going on in Europe and elsewhere and in which I am profoundly convinced our own vital interests are immediately involved. I feel I must continue those talks and

bring

The President,

The White House.

bring to them whatever weight the experience of my last few years in Rome, Moscow and Berlin may carry. To that end I propose to resign from the Foreign Service and so free myself from the obligations and restrictions which even the minor official position I hold might impose.

I feel that I need not emphasize the fact that the foregoing explanation covers the sole reason for my wish to return home, that I would consider myself derelict in my duty to you if I did not give you that explanation and that I am asking you to facilitate the execution of a purpose, which, without any intent to dramatize or exaggerate, is firm and sincere.

Faithfully yours,

Alexander Kirk.

PSF | Germany

File Personal & Confidential

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 13, 1940

My dear Mr. President:

I believe you will find of interest a letter which I have received from the First Secretary of the American Embassy in Berlin under date of October 21. In this letter Mr. Heath reports to me a conversation which he had with Dr. Schacht in continuation of the procedure I suggested to him when I left Berlin last March. I am attaching a copy of this letter herewith.

Believe me

Faithfully yours,

Sumner Welles

Enc.
From Mr. Heath,
October 21, 1940.

The President,

The White House.

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EMBASSY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

Berlin, October 21, 1940

Personal and [redacted]

Memorandum to Mr. Welles.

I called on "our friend" whom I had not seen since the interview recounted in my letter to you of July 5. He remarked that his information was that the British were undergoing terrific punishment from aerial bombardment, but that they were standing up under it, and asked me whether I thought the morale of the Berlin population would be as good under a similar attack. He answered his own question by saying that the morale of a people who knew what they were fighting for, i.e., to defend their country, was vastly different than that of the people subjected to punishment from a war of which they did not know the purpose. He remarked that it appeared very probable England would be able to defend the British Isles, but he was not so certain of its ability to defend Egypt and the Mediterranean, although the Italians had shown little evidence of offensive strength to date.

He said that while he had no means of knowing what were the President's plans or conceptions but he had the

distinct feeling that the President's policy was to place the United States in a position to exert successfully practically a constructive influence towards a just formation of orderly and reasonable international relations. He did not believe that America would repeat the mistake of Wilson, who had actually ruled the world by the promise of his ideas, but was now almost forgotten because he had not fulfilled their promise because he had allowed himself to be entangled by his war allies and internal opposition. He personally believed that America would not enter the war except to prevent the sudden collapse of Great Britain, or just before its close, in order to exert a constructive and decisive influence on the terms of peace.

While he had no belief that he would now be invited by some private organization to come to the States as a private citizen to deliver an address on some general subject, he still believed that this project was a good one. The President, in the desire to bring the world back to sanity, must endeavor to exert an influence not only on the governing circles in Great Britain but also on Germany as well, and that could be accomplished through him if he had the opportunity of personally discussing matters.

Throughout our talk "our friend" intimated but carefully avoided saying so directly, utilizing such phrases as "You will understand, Mr. Heath, that as a loyal German there are certain things that I cannot say or discuss with foreigners" that if the war went on there was a possibility of the disappearance of the regime.

He remarked that should he, contrary to his expectations, be invited to come to the States, that he was certain that Hitler would permit him to, although Ribbentrop would object. He referred to the latter's enmity, remarking that it dated from the time, some years ago, when he had entertained Ribbentrop shortly before the latter's accession to the Foreign Ministry. He was accompanying Ribbentrop to the door and terminated an argument by saying to him, "The difference between you and me, Mr. Ribbentrop, is that my final allegiance is to Germany and not to a single chief of state," to which Ribbentrop replied: "That is where you are wrong. You have not to bother (kuemmern) about allegiance to anybody or anything except to Hitler."

After this anecdote he went on to pay his respects to the Three Powers Pact, which he said was a diplomatic blunder of which even an apprentice should not have been guilty. It was against Germany's interests and even more

so against Japan's, and he failed to understand how the latter country had agreed to sign it. He invidiously compared Japan to China, stating that the latter had a great tradition and a true code of morality.

Towards the end of our conversation he referred again to the President and said that he was the last exponent of democracy, which the world really longed for and must return to. Its form would not be and should not be the parliamentary form of the last century. Parliaments there must be as a forum for the people, but parliaments that would delegate to the executive sufficient discretionary power to cope adequately with the problems of the times, at the same time holding the executive responsible for the results of such grants of power. He remarked that the war had at least one good result so far, that it had given British Labor interests a position of strong influence in the governing of the Empire from which they could never be dislodged. The present British Labor leaders had shown themselves moderate and practical and their accession to greater influence was a thing to be welcomed.

DONALD R. HEATH

> DOMESTIC PR

(I) NAZI PARTY

(A) Propaganda Leader (Dr.Goebbels)

(1) Dept. of Active Propaganda
(2) Dept. of Radio
(3) Dept. of Film
(4) Dept. of Culture
(5) Dept. of Press Propaganda
(6) Dept. of Speaker-Material
(7) Reichsring of Propaganda

(B) Chief of Press (Dr.Dietrich)

(1) Dept. of Press Politics
(2) Information & News Services
(3) Press-Political Apparatus

(C) Intellectual and Philosophical Education (Alfred Rosenberg)

(1) Dept. of Education
(2) Philosophical Information
(3) Dept. of History
(4) Cultivation of Art
(5) Cultivation of Literature
(6) Cultivation of Sciences
(7) Dept. of Nordic Questions

(D) Storm-Troops (Viktor Lutze)

(1) Dept. of Press & Propaganda
(2) Dept. of World Outlook
(3) Reich Leader School, Munich
(4) Regional Leader School, Dresden

(E) Elite Guard (Heinrich Himmler)

(1) Dept. of Race and Settlement
(2) Dept. of Domestic Security
(3) Leader Schools

(F) Youth Leader (Baldur von Schirach)

Section S - Education
F - Press & Propaganda
R - Radio
W - Sports
H - Hostels

(G) Judicial Leader

(1) Alliance of German Jurists
(2) Academy of German Law

(H) Student Leader

(1) Section I - Political Education
Section F - Enlightenment and Propaganda

(2) Alliance of Students

(a) Education
(b) Press & Propaganda

(J) Women Leader

(a) Women Alliance
(b) Women Help
(1) Education of Mothers
(2) Welfare of Mothers
(3) Protection of Mothers

(K) Welfare Leader

(a) Propaganda and Press

(L) Peasant Leader

Sections A-G.

(II) PROPAGANDA MINISTRY

(A) Central Organization

Section II - Propaganda
III - Radio
IV - Press
V - Film
VI - Theater - Music - The Arts
VII - Preventive Propaganda

(B) Subdivisions

(1) 51 Regional Offices
(2) Chamber of Culture
(3) German Academy of Politics

(III) REICH GOVERNMENT

(A) Interior Ministry (Dr.Frick)

(1) Dept. of Inner Politics
(2) Dept. of German Folkdom
(3) Dept. of Education, Sciences, and Sports
(4) Adviser on Race Studies
(5) Various Scientific Organizat.

(B) Min. of Agriculture (Dr.Darre)

(1) Political Adjutant
(2) Dept. of Rural Traditions and Peasant Universities
(3) Propaganda
(4) Press

(C) Ministry of Sciences (Rust)

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DOMESTIC PROPAGANDA AGENCIES

) REICH GOVERNMENT

(A) Interior Ministry (Dr.Frick)

- (1) Dept.of Inner Politics
- (2) Dept.of German Folkdom
- (3) Dept.of Education, Sciences, and Sports
- (4) Adviser on Race Studies
- (5) Various Scientific Organizat.

(B) Min.of Agriculture (Dr.Darre)

- (1) Political Adjutant
- (2) Dept. of Rural Traditions and Peasant Universities
- (3) Propaganda
- (4) Press

(C) Ministry of Sciences (Rust)

(IV) LABOR FRONT (Dr.Ley)

(A) Central Organization

- (1) Dept. of Education
- (2) Dept. of Press and Propaganda

(B) Strength through Joy

- (1) Dept. of Education
- (2) Dept. of Culture
- (3) Dept. of Press and Propaganda

(V) LABOR SERVICE (C.Hierl)

- (1) Dept. of Enlightenment and Press
- (2) Dept. of Education
- (3) Inspector of Leader Schools
- (4) Reich School of the Labor Service

(VI) High Command of the Armed Forces (Field Marshal Keitel)

- (A) Press Division
- (B) Intelligence Division
- (C) German Society of Military Politics and Military Sciences

FOREIGN PROPAGANDA AGENCIES

REIGN OFFICE (Ribbentrop)

) Central Organisation

(1) Section II - West and South-Eastern Europe
(2) Section III - Britain and the Americas
(3) Eastern Europe, East Asia
(4) Section VI - Question of Cultural Politics
(5) Section P - Press

) Bureau Ribbentrop

) Chief of Foreign Organisations

(in co-operation with the Foreign Organisation of the Party)

) Diplomatic and Consular Corps

) Reich Office of Foreign Trade

f) Germano-Roman Commission

(headquarters in Frankfurt a.M., branches at Rome, Athens, Istanbul. Cairo branch now closed.)

(III) Propaganda Ministry

Section II - Propaganda and Tourist Traffic
Section III - Radio
Section IV - Press
Section V - Film
Section VII - Counter Propaganda

Foreign Press Section

(III) REICH GOVERNMENT

(A) Interior Ministry

Dept. of Emigration

(B) Ministry of Sciences

Exchange of Students and Educators

(IV) LABOR FRONT

Dept. of Travels
Foreign Department
Foreign Propaganda Department

(V) HIGH COMMAND OF THE ARMED FORCES

Dept. of Foreign Armies
Intelligence Divisions
Psychological "General Staff"
German Society of Military Politics & Military Sciences

(VII) CORPORATIONS OF THE PUBLIC

(A) German Industries

Section I - International Trade, Radio, Film, Literature
Section II - Foreign Trade Policy, Foreign Trade, Intelligence on Foreign Trade, Co-operation with foreign trade organizations
Section V - Propaganda
Section VI - Money Collection for special purposes
Section VII - Defense

(B) Students

Section II - Foreign Office

(C) Jurists

(1) International Law
(2) Friends of the German Law

(VIII) ASSOCIATIONS, etc.

(A) Association of German Societies Abroad, Berlin

(B) Alliance of Germans Abroad, Berlin

(C) German Foreign Institute, Stuttgart

(D) Alliance of German Protection, Berlin

(E) Association of German Ethnographical Groups in Europe, Berlin

(F) Alliance of Foreign-Germans, Berlin

cont.

ADOLF HITLER

HIGH COMMAND OF THE GERMAN FORCES

(VII) CORPORATIONS OF THE PUBLIC

(A) Jurists
(B) Medical Professions
(C) Engineers and other Technological Professions
(D) Ex-Service-Men Organisations
(E) Welfare Organisations
(F) Teachers
(G) Students
  (1) Political Education
  (2) Enlightenment & Propag.

and many more.

(I) NAZI PARTY

(A) DEPT. of Foreign Politics

(1) Reporters on Foreign Countries
(2) Foreign Trade
(3) Press
(4) Cultural Co-operation
(5) Dept. of Special Tasks
(6) Academy of Foreign Politics, Berlin
(7) German Academy, Munich
(8) Geopolitical Seminary, Munich

(B) Foreign Organization of the Party (Bohle)

(1-8) Offices of Foreign Countries
  (a) Section VI - U.S.
  (b) VII - Latin America
(9) Shipping
(10) Labor Front Abroad
(11) Officials Abroad
(12) Educators Abroad
(13) Professors Abroad
(14) Students Abroad
(15) Women & Youth Abroad
(16) Foreign Trade
(17) Foreign Inspection
(18) Dept. of Culture
(19) Press
(20) Speakers Bureau
(21) Dept. of Repatriation
(22) Dept. of Education
  (a) Reich School for Germans Abroad and Seafarers, Dammerschloss, Altona

(C) Propaganda Leader

(D) Chief of Press

Foreign Press Dept.

(II) FOREIGN OFFICE (Ribbentrop)

(A) Central Organization

(1) Section II - West and South-Eastern Europe
(2) Section III - Britain and the Americas
(3) Eastern Europe, East Asia
(4) Section VI - Question of Cultural Politics
(5) Section P - Press

(B) Bureau Ribbentrop

(C) Chief of Foreign Organizations

(in co-operation with the Foreign Organization of the Party)

(D) Diplomatic and Consular Corps

(E) Reich Office of Foreign Trade

(F) Germano-Roman Commission

(headquarters in Frankfurt a.M., branches at Rome, Athens, Istanbul. Cairo branch now closed.)

(III) Propaganda Ministry

Section II - Propaganda Tourist Traffic
Section III - Radio
Section IV - Press
Section V - Film
Section VII - Counter Propaganda

Foreign Press Section

K05

The New York Times Magazine

May 25, 1941

Drivers of the Nazi war chariot—Fuehrer Hitler with Reichsmarshal Goering, Grand Admiral Raeder and General Field Marshal von Brauchitsch.

THE "UNBELIEVABLE" NAZI BLUEPRINT

This article is based on material prepared for a forthcoming book. The author is a member of the staff of The Christian Science Monitor and served as correspondent in Berlin from October, 1939, through January, 1941.

By JOSEPH C. HARSCH

HITLER'S war chariot is rolling along fast now at what to its drivers must seem a most satisfactory and promising clip. Where will it go if nothing happens to halt its hitherto progress?

For the answers it would be well to delve a bit into the backgrounds of the men who made nazism and who are manipulating the great German diplomatic and military weapons of conquest, under Hitler's guidance. For in their vocations lies the reason why they are headed toward objectives which nice and charitable and generous people still refuse to believe possible.

Two sources provided Germany with its new masters. The merging of the two strands account for much of the Nazi regime's character and of its objectives. The leaders came for the most part either from the ultimogeni, unnatural stock within Germany itself or from the wandering German in other lands who had failed to adjust himself to the pattern abroad and who fell back on his racial Germanism as the only means of regaining his self-confidence and self-respect.

Both elements were failures in the Old World. Both were motivated by resentment, jealousy and ambition. Both had one thing in common: their Germanism. Each wanted to destroy the orders and societies in which they had failed. Both, for somewhat different reasons, possessed a deep and Germanly unnatural hatred of the foreigner and everything foreign.

In this derivation of its leaders lies the sharp break between the Nazi spirit and the historic trend in Germany. The fall of the Weimar Republic in 1933 marked the end of a long period in which German policy had always been either dominated or at least heavily tempered by Western influences. It marked the first complete break with Western civilization and Western culture. It marked the end of a period when Germany tried to be both German and Western. Abandoning the long struggle to be two things at once, it declared a war of extermination on the West and set out to destroy what it could never absorb or wholly merge itself into.

GERMANY had always in modern times until 1933 represented an inner antagonism or conflict between the external forces to which its geographic position subjected it. It was drawn by the modern civilization which pocketed it on the west, by the Asiatic influences of the East and by the softer, romantic, semi-Latin culture on the south. All of these influences are positive and established. Germany was never positive or established. It was never sure of its directions, of its character or of its destiny. It has searched often with a tragic frenzy and frustration to find itself among these conflicting influences, yet never coming to rest as France and Britain had come to rest in cultures of their own essential creation. But the Western influence was normally dominant and the trend was in that direction until 1933.

From the end of the Thirty Years' War until the beginning of the Nazi regime Germany was led by men or classes who were heavily influenced by the West and who always took their patterns of culture and civilization from the West. So strong was this influence that in many of its leaders it took the form of contempt for everything German. King Frederick William III of Prussia, who led the German armies to the edge of Paris after the Battle of Waterloo, refused to let his peasant soldiers enter that city. To him Paris represented the center of civilization and he refused to let his uncouth peasants enter its streets. Before him, Frederick the Great had his favorite palace at Sans Souci built by French architects to the French manner, spoke only French in his court circle, and surrounded himself with men like Voltaire, who represented the supreme achievement of Western civilization.

WALK through the palace gardens of Berlin today and you will find monuments with inscriptions in French or Latin. None of the [illegible] the German language.

Mastery of Europe and Africa, with the elimination of all that is not German, is the aim of the Third Reich.

Genuity

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(Continued from Preceding Page)

by the upper class as a barbaric corpse.

Both the War of 1914 and the World War were essentially German movements to merge with the West by forcing Germany upon the West. They were not conscious wars of extermination against the West. The Weimar Republic was the supreme attempt to achieve a final German unity with the West by coordinating even its form of government with what Germans believed to be the most perfect possible model of Western government.

The very frenzy with which Nazi propaganda today denounces the West and everything Western, is in itself both a tribute to the validity of Western civilization and an indication of the powerful attraction it has for the German mind. It survives now even in trivial things. Despite everything the regime could do to evolve new German fashions and make Berlin the center for European styles, wives of the Nazi elite still look longingly to Paris for their dresses. The Kurfürstendamm — Berlin's sophisticated district — specializes in chrome, although smugly unsuccessful, attempts to be "chic" in the Parisian manner.

NAZIISM is led by men who had either never come in direct contact with the West at all or who had evolved an inferiority complex from their contact. They either detested it from ignorance or hated it from frustration. Look over the men who preside in the Wilhelmstrasse today, as I have taken them over day after day at press conferences down the long table facing the foreign press. The speaker is always flanked by at least a dozen on either side, as though he needed their moral support in facing those from the outside world.

The group is eminently nondescript in every way. It is marked by only one general characteristic—youth. They are decidedly a mongrel breed, mainly [illegible] a group from the Foreign Office and Propaganda Ministry which troops to the press conference. The rest are anything and everything. One looks like an old soldier of about 1928 vintage—black hair slicked back from a part in the middle. Two sit with the military manner pictures of the old army. One, a blond, slouches in a pained nonchalant manner. Two wear monocles in an obvious effort to be English. Half a dozen wear spats, but are about as un-English in every other respect as possible. Three or four are of the short, pursuing, flat-headed, old German type. Several have Slavic receding foreheads. There are always two or three who bear a subtle resemblance to the caricatures of Jews in the Stürmer. One looks like a pleasant, gawky American college boy. Another is the quiet, studious type straight from Oxford or Cambridge. Only one could pass muster in the old German aristocracy.

AS a group, they are what you could gather in from the street of any European capital east of Paris. There not one you would pick as a born leader of men. There isn't one you would expect, from his appearance, to find in high official position. Where is the blond, bestial, master race about which they talk? You don't find it in the officious government in Berlin. What you do find are the types washed up by revolution from the ranks of the dispossessed and underprivileged of previous regimes. They are the youth uninhibited by inherited restraints, united only by a desire to get positions and comforts which would be denied them under normal conditions.

But don't underestimate their energy or their singleness of purpose. Everything they have and are was taken from others and would revert to others if their regime should topple down. As a group they must conquer or disappear. I watched them day after day looking them over and watching their behavior, always wondering at the strange chance which had brought these men to positions of power and influence in any government.

The significant and salient fact is that they have produced, for the first time since the Thirty Years' War, a German Government which is inherently and basically and passionately German. They come either from the dregs of the nation, feeding the primitive emotions of the mass or from those who have turned to these primitive emotions as a refuge from foreign ideas and societies which rejected them. The most passionately Germanic of all are those who were born outside Germany or who lived long years of exile abroad.

These men are not only capable of molding Germany out of the stream of Western civilization, but have made every possible effort to accomplish it. One of their reasons of animosity toward the Jew is because the Jew is a carrier of international ideas and culture. They want to destroy all knowledge within Germany of everything which is foreign, because such things are a challenge to their deep-rooted contempt of things German being superior. The doctrine of such superiority can be made to seem convincing only if the German people can be separated from contact with things foreign. And as the war progresses they learn increasingly that the Germanic vacuum can be created only in the last analysis by destroying what is foreign. Their urge to self gratification and self-importance can be realized only by destroying everything which challenges them. Hence their readiness to stamp challenging examples of Western civilization out of German life.

THERE are strange little islets of humanistic in this general picture. Nazi writers have proved completely unable to meet a demand for good novels as an escape from the realities of war. To make up for this painful and obvious failure of Nazi "culture," publishing houses have been permitted to bring out beautifully illustrated editions of such books as "Gone With the Wind." By calling Shakespeare a German who was born in England by mistake, they manage to rationalize permission for their theatres to compensate for the lack of good German plays by resorting to him. George Bernard Shaw is excused by being an Irishman. The great majority of all plays from these two authors have appeared on the boards of Berlin since the war. Without them it would have been almost impossible to keep a "German theatre" alive.

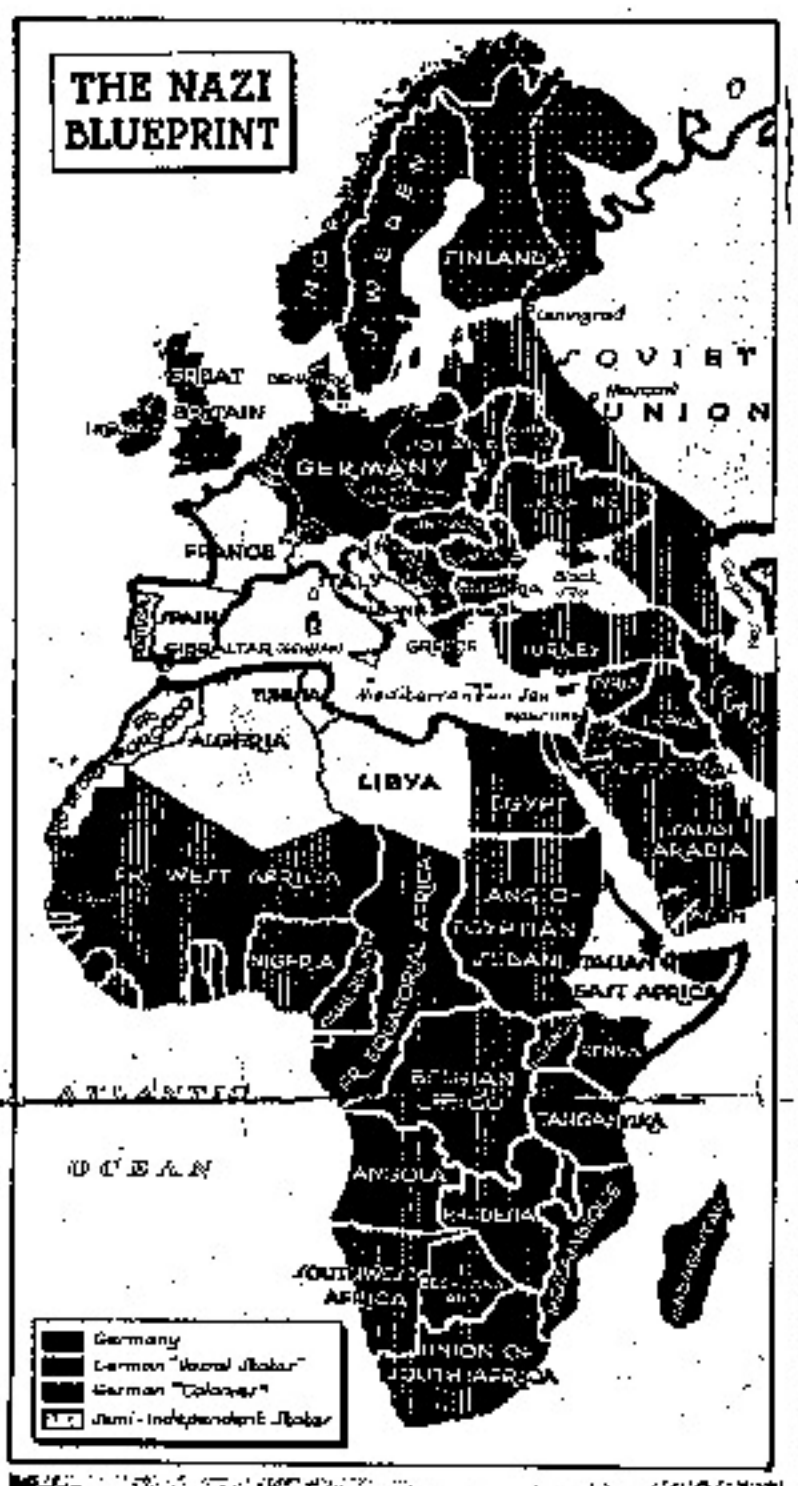
BUT these are only concessions which the leaders of today's Germany make for the sake of distracting the populace during critical times. Their purpose is to create a synthetic German culture to accompany the German political domination which they intend to force on Europe and some other continents as well. They had to make these temporary concessions to the great majority of Germans who had long since come to think of culture and civilization in terms of the art and literature and architecture of the outside world. It means no basic deviation from their hatred of the West and their desire as a group to make it subtle to Germanic rulers and Germanic concepts of culture.

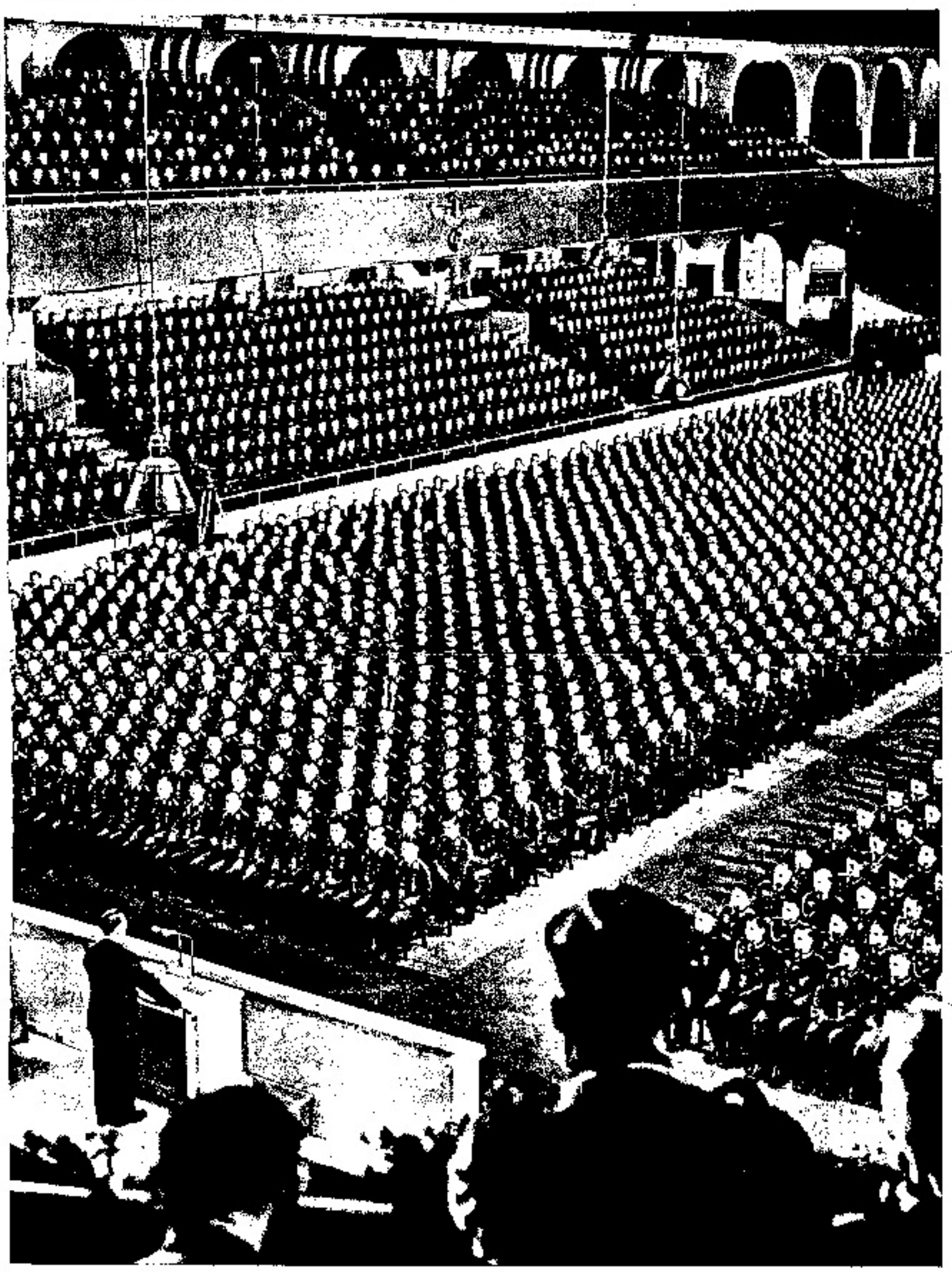
For Germany is not led today by a Kaiser whose mother was an English princess; by an aristocracy which sends its sons to Oxford and its daughters to Paris; by a foreign service trained in the role of Western diplomacy, by an intelligentsia which considers itself only part of a Western group. It is led by a group which is either ignorant of such connections or deliberately shuns them. It is led by men who have declared a war of extermination against the West in the inevitably futile attempt to create a new German culture and civilization which will replace Western civilization. Subconsciously they know, and by their actions they evidence it, that they can do so only by destroying the West. That is the course to which they have committed Germany as a revolution against the failure of the past to merge with the West. . . .

One of the reasons the outside world has fallen such easy prey to their arms, and still evidences such a reluctance to believe the extent of its danger, is because it has grown accustomed to think of the Western World as a group of nations which had its own internal squabbles and indulged in war as a means of settling them, but still did all its fighting according to established rules of the game and had as its objective only a limited advantage over the opponent, not his extinction as an independent and individual member of the community. A lot of people in the United States have comforted themselves with the thought that if Germany won this war it would make little difference to them. They would just be the normal changes in frontiers, the reappearance of some German flags on the colonial map, some readjustment to Germany's advantage of foreign trade, but in other respects the same Old World.

SUCH a comforting idea shows a complete lack of appreciation of the nature of the man who control Germany today and the ideas which they have evolved for the governing of their conduct. Their aims are the old aims of German imperialism, but this time an imperialism unchecked by elements within Germany which admire and wish to preserve civilizations of the enemy countries. This time they mean imperialism in every sense. Perhaps it is no wonder that outsiders were so slow in appreciating the extent of Nazi imperialism. The Nazi leaders are only beginning to understand it themselves in the process of fighting for it, because the things lies not so much in their conscious intentions as in the very nature of what they are.

After living among them for a year and a half during the war I do not believe that they ever originally expected to have a war with the United States, or even with England, for that matter. Hitler took the possibility of one major war into his calculations, but there was always the possibility that he (Continued on Page 28)





Adolf Hitler addresses officers of the Wehrmacht—"Their urge to self-gratification can be realized only by destroying everything which challenges them."

"UNBELIEVABLE" NAZI BLUEPRINT

(Continued from Page 4)

would get what he wanted without war. He played it that way and the fact that he got into a war was a partial failure of the plan. He had much more to gain by peaceful subversion of his neighbors than by conquest. Every month the war lasts reduces the attainable goals of victory.

WHAT Hitler and his followers wanted was control over the mechanical organization of the world which had been set up during the past several hundred years and to use that mechanical organization for the exclusive benefit of Germany. What he perhaps failed to realize was that the shipping lines, the channels of trade, the financial systems, the industries, the delicate mechanisms of government and their interrelations were both the product and the inevitable companion of the more or less democratic concepts which underlay the creation of this great fabric of world commerce. Because the ideas which lay behind it were incapable of surrendering their creation to sheer exploitation for the benefit of a single nation without a struggle, Hitler is now engaged, ironically, in a war which threatens to destroy the very thing he wants to do the process of trying to acquire it.

Hitler himself began to realize the scope of the issue he had presented to the world as his war progressed. On Dec. 10, 1940, he made a speech in which he indicated the world he is trying to conquer with the world he presents. Here are some of the phrases he used in expressing this conflict:

"We can never be reconciled with this other world."

"One of these two worlds must break asunder."

"There are two worlds and I believe one of these worlds must crack up."

Long before he publicly recognized in such realistic manner the issue he has precipitated, his henchmen had made an open secret in Berlin of how they intended to conquer this other world and what they intended to do with it when they had it. Those of us who spent that period in Berlin became so accustomed to such ideas and such concepts that we were probably lax in cabling them to our papers. We thought the whole world understood them and that to repeat them would be unnecessary waste of time. What still seems to many people in America something unbelievable is just the normal, expected thing in Berlin.

I HAVE been shown maps of the projected German world of the future. I have seen memoranda from party sources which outlined details of the plan of conquest and the plan of fulfillment. I accepted them in Berlin as something every one knew about. I find on returning to the United States that people are still incredibly reluctant to believe that such things can be true.

Here is what they actually plan to do with Europe and the world and how they still expect to get it.

Europe itself is to be organized with a much enlarged Germany as a central core, surrounded by German colonies and, farther afield, by vassal States. The new borders of Germany itself will include all areas inhabited now by even a small German-speaking minority and also such additional areas as they desire to populate with Germans for reasons of space, military importance and economic value. Maps frequently published in wartime Germany of the extent of the mediaeval Germanic Empire show roughly the countries they intend to incorporate bodily into Germany, from which they intend to drive out all existing residents except such as they intend to keep in the status of migratory, slave labor. All property in this area will be owned by Germans and all enterprise will be in German hands. The process is already well toward completion in parts of Poland and in Lorraine. It includes the German-speaking parts of Switzerland and all of Czecho-Slovakia. At one time they intended treating the Dutch as "protectionary" Germans and taking in the non-French-speaking parts of Belgium. Dutch resistance is likely to change the treatment of Holland to that of a vassal State, but under direct and complete German control.

BEYOND the central German core will be areas in which German colonies will have exclusive political power and the native population will be tolerated on an inferior status. Such colonies will push down the Danube basin to the Black Sea. Such colonies will extend along the Baltic to the very edge of Leningrad.

There will then be vassal States of various degree. Denmark, Norway and Sweden will be organized into a single vassal, slightly favored on the ground that its population is Nordic and therefore kin to the German. Finland is to be enlarged and set under German supervision as a northern barrier against Russia. Italy will be a moderately favored semi-independent State not of respect for the past and for its usefulness in the Mediterranean.

In the west, French-speaking Belgium and Switzerland are to be thrown, for administrative simplicity, into France. At one time the Germans thought of holding a strip across Northern France to the Channel, but the attempt to arouse a German separatist movement in Normandy made so little headway that it has been apparently abandoned.

At the present time war strategy makes the problem of France somewhat difficult for the Nazis. But there is little doubt about their ultimate intention in regard to that country. France will become a vassal nation, condemned to economic, political and social subordination.

I have seen privately circulated maps showing a projected treatment of Russia which made the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk look like the work of a soft-minded pacifist. White Russia and the Ukraine are to be set up into German-controlled puppet States. The new border would run just west of the railroad line from Leningrad to Moscow, and below Moscow would strike southeast to the Caspian Sea, bringing virtually all the economically profitable part of European Russia under direct German sway. What would be left of Russia would be subjected to the same kind of German political domination planned for France.

Going farther afield: Italy would be allowed some extension of its African Empire, but would remain "the prisoner of the Mediterranean." Germany intends to hold both Gibraltar and Suez. In Asia Minor and in Africa the plan is merely to substitute German colonial governments or puppet rule for those now established. South Africa is to be treated to a reversal of its present balance of power, with the Boers, led by Germans and heavily seeded with new German colonists, taking over the dominant political control and the English residents relegated to an inferior status.

ENGLAND would be used industrially to increase the shipbuilding potential of Germany. But it is to be cut off from its colonial and dominion empire, forcing it down into the economic status of Scandinavia, or worse. It would be allowed to adjust itself as best it could to an impossible economic problem by the migration of its then surplus population to Canada, Australia and the United States. Its only industrial function would be to build ships for the German naval and merchant marines. Its other industries which compete with German industry would be gradually scrapped or destroyed.

This would be the basis of the new German Empire as it is conceived and frankly outlined in Berlin today. But this is only the beginning. German colonies in South America are expected, when the time is ripe, to conduct revolutions which will bring them into control of those countries. Germany would then have absolute control over all the trade of Europe, Africa and South America. Japan would have Asia. The hope of the more optimistic Nazis is that some time during this stage in the proceedings the United States would either have made up its mind to "cooperate" in this new German order, or would have been taken over politically by the Germanic element in its population. Should it prove incredibly recalcitrant and "difficult," it would merely be excluded from the rest of the world until such time as German power, fed by the entire industrial structure of Europe and the resources of three continents, was ready for invasion and conquest.

THE plan, of course, contemplates completion of the conquest of Europe and Africa before the United States can or will take a part in the war. The diplomatic strategy of "refusing to be provoked" reflects the idea of keeping the United States out of actual war while the preliminary steps of conquering Europe and Africa are in progress. But there

NAZI BLUEPRINT

(Continued from Page 28)

is also provision for the eventuality of formal American intervention. This plan (and I have seen it in private memorandum) calls for conquest of England. If the British Government has fled to Canada and combined British and American fleets are attempting to carry on the war by long-range blockade, the population of the British Isles would be subjected to deliberate progressive starvation as hostages.

THE German idea is that Washington and Ottawa would capitulate before allowing the people of those islands to be starved to death to the last man, woman and child. It may sound incredible to any one in the United States who still lives, eats, sleeps, goes to movies, buys gasoline for his car at normal prices and votes every year or two. But it does not sound incredible to any one like myself who has been living in Europe during the past two years. To me it is just ordinary, matter-of-fact conversation of everyday Berlin. Before I left that city I had become so accustomed to hearing this sort of thing that it simply bored me and I stopped even listening for new details. It goes back to Hitler's original thesis, expounded in "Mein Kampf," that if a plan is bold enough and ambitious enough, it can be announced with complete impunity because no one will believe it until it has overwhelmed him.

I saw this plan for the starvation of the British Isles in a memorandum which was supposed to have come direct from the Brown House, Nazi party headquarters in Munich. I, personally, believe that document was authentic. But if it wasn't, it was at least indicative of the authentic line of thinking in high party quarters.

The use of deliberate mass starvation as a means to Germany's political ends is nothing new. It is being employed today in Poland. Thousands are starving to death in that country, not because of a shortage of food; Poland always was a net food exporting country. The normal prewar surplus of food exports ran on an average around 200,000,000 zlotys in value. All that is necessary to prevent starvation is to leave a minimum amount necessary to sustain life. But the Germans go to the length of even digging up the potatoes before they are matured, and cutting the wheat before it is ripe, to keep it from the Poles. This is the evidence of American relief experts who have gone to Poland to study the food situation and report on whether American food should be sent there to prevent starvation.

IT would be far easier to starve Britain, because those islands cannot feed their population. That the Germans are capable of doing it is not a far stretch of imagination. They not only could but actually plan to do it if that becomes necessary to achieve their objective.

Despite all this, a Nazi can be sincere when he says that Germany has no aggressive designs against the United States. It is perfectly true—"if." He leaves that "if" unsaid. They have no designs against us "if" we will accept their blueprint for a new German world. That means that the United States will not only accept complete German political, economic and financial domination of Europe and Africa but also control of South America's trade and its economic development, and, of much more direct importance, will trade with Europe and the rest of the world according to German convenience. They would sell us what they chose and buy from us what they chose, at prices fixed by them.

That is not all. The American press would have to be muzzled to prevent expressions "unfriendly" to Germany. American laws and customs would have to be modified wherever they prove irritating or harmful to German sovereignty over the world. It would be a German world and North America would exist, along with Japan, on the tolerance of Germany. Either the two would unite at some future time to throw off the yoke, or would gradually succumb to a degree of dynamic interference with their internal lives which would destroy their own independence. The pity of the moment is that Japan, which has as much to lose in such a future as the United States, is so blind to its own danger.

TO resist only partially and half-heartedly is a waste of time. The United States must choose one of two courses. Either it should attempt to the full resist this thing from reaching the point where it is a direct challenge to its own independence, or it might as well stand aside and let it come gradually. There is little point in half-hearted resistance. That merely makes the process a little more painful. Hitler himself recognizes it as a battle for the domination of the world. He knows what he is talking about and what his intentions are far better than people who merely like to think that he really can't mean it. He does.

PSF: Roosevelt

File Friends

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 8, 1940.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. EARLY:

CONFIDENTIAL from Carlton Smith

(NBC's man in Berlin)

Max Jordan says that negotiations between London and Berlin have failed; that Hitler will probably speak tomorrow morning by radio at 8:00, our time, and they (NBC) have reason to believe that Hitler will then unloose a terrific offensive.

dj

1296

File Confidential PSF

[1942]

HITLER'S PROJECTED EUROPEAN FEDERATION PROCLAMATION

INFORMATION FROM A GERMAN INDUSTRIALIST

On the 13th May it was reported that information had been obtained, indirectly, from a Director of an important German industrial concern, who claimed to have excellent connexions in the German Foreign Office. The main feature of the report was that, if a definite agreement was not reached by the end of May permitting large scale German economic penetration and exploitation of the U.S.S.R., war would be made on that country, preparations for which were to be completed before the end of May.

2. The following information has within the last few days been obtained, indirectly, from this same German industrialist, and the proclamation part is based, he states, on what he has learned from a friend in the German Foreign Office. This industrialist is not a regular source of ours, and we have little previous check on his reliability beyond the information quoted above; but independent information from Vichy, quoted at the end of this report, has a confirmatory bearing on his statements, and there were separate indications of a forthcoming peace move, involving Spain, France, Switzerland and the Vatican. i

Stabilising of the Eastern Front

(i) Every effort is being made to stabilise a front line in the East by the 20th/25th November, including the capture of Moscow if possible.

The projected proclamation

(ii) Hitler is planning to announce, some time in December, possibly at Christmas, a "Magna Carta of European Federation", to be specially supported by France, Italy and Spain.

(iii) The German Foreign Office has been working on the necessary preparations for about the last month. The recent meetings which Ribbentrop has had with De Brinon, Abetz and Ciano have been directed towards reaching a final settlement of the French-Italian problem, regarding which certain difficulties are still to be overcome before the proclamation is launched.

(iv) The proclamation, which will be accompanied by far-reaching concessions and ameliorations for the occupied territories, will be on the following general lines. No direct peace offer will be made to Britain, but air and submarine attack may be suspended for a period in an attempt to make the peace intentions convincing.

(a) Europe becomes a "voluntary federation".

(b) Hitler has no designs against other continents, but should Britain or America continue the war they will be resisted by the combined strength of United Europe.

(c) European Russia having been "liberated", there will be no interest in carrying the campaign further East. The duty of the whole of Europe will be to collaborate in the defence against Asiatic Russia. The danger from the latter will be greatly emphasised.

A twofold manoeuvre

(v) A proclamation on these lines will constitute a manoeuvre having two main objectives:

(a) Strengthening the hand of the American isolationists and creating a division of opinion in Britain.

(b) The pacification of Europe and the enlisting of the support of non-Axis countries. It is intended by next Spring to hold the Eastern front with the maximum number of non-German troops, including French, Swiss and Swedish. In this way it is believed that two thirds of the German Army could be liberated from the East for a campaign against Britain if necessary.

(vi) The Turkish President, it is claimed, has given Papen a promise of his support for this scheme.

(vii) At Germany's request Japan refrained from declaring war recently. Germany attaches great importance to the U.S.A. still being neutral when the proclamation is launched.

(viii) In the event of Moscow holding out through the winter, it is realised that this scheme will be less convincing; it is nevertheless believed at present that Hitler intends to put it through at all cost.

Morale

(ix) Morale in Germany was decidedly low before Hitler's recent speech. Hitler was forced to make the speech because of the internal situation, although he was unwilling to leave the Eastern front. Some disturbances between the regular Army and S.S. troops were provoked by officers who believed that the moment for the overthrow of the regime had come. These were carefully and quickly hushed up.

(x) Hitler's speech acted as a great stimulant; for instance, an increase in the daily output of the informant's firm was recorded immediately after the speech and for the following ten days, owing to the improved morale.

(xi) But morale has now again lowered. The fall of Moscow is regarded as the crucial test of Nazi promises. The victories in the South do not evoke much enthusiasm.

(xii) The horror and the cruelty of the Russian campaign are now being fully realised and are having a bad effect.

Goering

(xiii) Goering is not very active these days and is suffering from angina pectoris.

The Russian war

(xiv) From military circles in Berlin the informant claims to have heard:

(a) Leeb has sent a pessimistic report indicating that the fall of Leningrad is unachievable.

(b) Hitler has recently had a disagreement with Brauchitsch, who has protested against the unnecessarily large sacrifices being made in front of Moscow.

Independent information

3. The following independent and spontaneous information has been very recently obtained from a source in close touch with official circles at Vichy:

(i) Information reaching Vichy indicates that Hitler contemplates proclaiming a European Federation, or Pan-European Union.

(ii) Papen, it has been learned, was commissioned by Hitler some time ago to work out the details.

(iii) An emissary from Berlin is expected to arrive shortly in Vichy to discuss the plan with Pétain and Darlan.

Safe: Germany
File
PSF

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

August 1, 1941

Mr. President:

The attached memorandum of conversation relates to the activities of a German agent, Fenthol, known to us, now in Rio, who is apparently to discover what peace terms would be offered to Germany were the Hitler Government eliminated. Fenthol claims to represent a cabal of high German Army officers known as the "Friends of Werner Von Fritsch".

This may be of no significance; but it would seem logical that feelers of this kind should appear.

AAB
A. A. Berle, Jr.

Attachment

[Fenthol carried the documents relating to the Bolivian plot, just broken up.]

1296

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Memorandum of Conversation

COPY FOR THE PRESIDENT

DATE: July 31, 1941

SUBJECT:

PARTICIPANTS: Dr. Maurice Hochschild,
A. A. Berle, Jr.

COPIES TO:

Dr. Maurice Hochschild, who is one of the co-owners of the Bolivian tin mines and a resident of South America, came in to see me at my request. He stated that there is now in Rio a German lawyer, Dr. Fenthol, sent by the German I. G. Farden Industrie to attempt to purchase the Standard Oil interests of Hungary for twenty-four million dollars cash.

Conversing with Hochschild, Fenthol said that he had a second job besides the one for which he was sent.

He represented General Von Stulpnagel (?), who is the commander of the German forces in occupied France. This General and a number of other officers in the German Army had formed a group known as the "Friends

of

of Fritsch", since all of them had been friends or colleagues of General Werner Von Fritsch, whose death on the Polish front they believed to have been a Nazi murder.

These officers were skeptical of the results of the German invasion of Russia, and they believed that the situation would become so bad that they and the Army group would have to take over the Government and attempt to make peace. Fenthol's real mission was to try to ascertain what kind of a peace could be made were Hitler disposed of. First, could there be a peace if Goering replaced Hitler; second, if not, what kind of peace (other than total destruction) could a new Government (presumably of Army officers) obtain for Germany. Fenthol said he had wanted to come to Washington but he had been unable to get a visa.

The calculations of the German officers were based primarily upon the German plight as to food and lubricants. Russia had not been delivering the wheat and lubricating oil in accordance with her trade agreements. In May 1941 Germany asked for the right to administer the Ukraine and the Baku oil fields to increase deliveries. Russia declined, and Fenthol thought (June 16, 1941) that the Germans would march into Russia (as they did). The

German

German officers, however, were clear that this would not produce wheat or oil, but merely leave Germany in occupation of a destroyed Russian area.

Fenthol and his friends were of the impression that, owing to the dissatisfaction of the German people, the Nazi Government had given larger food rations than their reserves justified. They had entered the war with a reserve of four million tons of wheat which was now substantially exhausted. If, therefore, the Russian adventure yielded nothing, the next phase would be extremely grim. If no peace could be made with the Hitler Government it would be necessary to change that Government for one which could negotiate.

I observed that I was interested in what he said; that of course we were not even remotely considering peace offers at this time, but that naturally we liked to keep informed as to the activities of German agents everywhere, and especially in South America.

A. A. Berle, Jr.

Comment:

It was interesting to note that the statements regarding food reserves correspond in considerable degree with calculations made and the German staff documents of last January. The shortage of

lubricating

lubricating oil corresponds with other reports which we have had. We know a good deal about Fenthol who was here last year and whose activities we checked carefully. It is not clear to me whether this is a repetition of one of the Goering peace feelers of the type put out through W. R. Davis; or whether it reflects the old German Army crowd represented by Fritsch, which Fenthol claims to be representing in some degree.

A.A.B.,Jr.

Germany Folder
1-41

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

October 24, 1941

Dear Miss Tully:

With reference to your conversation with Mr. Gray I attach five copies of Zurich's telegram No. 481 regarding the program of the National Reich's Church. A paraphrase was not necessary as the Gray code is not a confidential one.

John F. Stone

S:JFS:AR

1296

October 25, 1941.

My dear Archbishop:-

I am enclosing what I spoke to you about the other day and I know that this is confirmatory of other information which has been received in other places.

With kindest regards,

Faithfully yours,

His Excellency
Most Rev. Edward Mooney, D.D.,
Archbishop of Detroit,
1830 Wellesley Drive,
Detroit, Michigan.

(Enclosure)

October 25, 1941.

My dear Friend:-

I am enclosing what I spoke to you about the other day and I know that this is confirmatory of other information which has been received in other places.

It was grand to see you and do come down again soon (I mean after Monday).

Faithfully yours,

His Excellency
Most Rev. Francis J. Spellman, D.D.,
Archbishop of New York,
452 Madison Avenue,
New York, N. Y.

(Enclosure)

October 25, 1941.

Dear Myron:-

I attach, in great confidence, a copy of a translation of a dispatch received from a reliable source in Europe -- that is to say, a source which has hitherto proved remarkably reliable. I am withholding, of course, the name and address of the informant.

I think it would be an excellent idea to send this to His Holiness who already has certain specific information along similar lines.

As ever yours,

Honorable Myron C. Taylor,
60 Broadway,
New York City,
New York.

(Enclosure)

COPY

This program emanates from the intimate circle of Alfred Rosenberg and I am informed that pratically nothing is known of it abroad, it having arrived only a few days ago through trustworthy channels. The influence of Rosenberg is reported to be on the increase due to the turn of the Russian campaign.

The 30 points of the program follow:

First. The National Reich's Church of Germany (hereinafter called the N.R. and represented in this telegram by the symbol "N".

Categorically claims the exclusive right and the exclusive power to control all churches within the borders of the Reich; it declares these to be national churches

of the German Reich.

Second. The German people must not serve the N. The N is absolutely and exclusively in the service of but one doctrine: race and nation.

Third. The field of activity of the N will expand to the limits of Germany's territorial and colonial possessions.

Fourth. The N does not force any German to seek membership therein. The N will do everything within its power to secure the adherence of every German soul. Other churches or similar communities and unions particularly such as are under international control or management cannot and shall not be tolerated in Germany.

Fifth. The N is determined to exterminate irrevocably and by every means the strange and foreign christian faiths imported into Germany in the ill-omened year 800.

Sixth. The existing churches may not be architecturally altered, as they represent the property of the German nation, German culture and to a certain extent the historical development of the nation. As property of the German nation they are not only to be valued but to be preserved.

Seventh.

Seventh. The N has no scribes, pastors, chaplains or priests but National Reich orators are to speak in them.

Eighth. The N services are held only in the evening and not in the morning. These services are to take place on Saturdays with solemn illumination.

Ninth. In the N German men and women, German youths and girls will acknowledge God and his eternal works.

Tenth. The N irrevocably strives for complete union with the state. It must obey the state as one of its servants. As such it demands that all landed possessions of all churches and religious denominations be handed over to the state. It forbids that in future churches should secure ownership of even the smallest piece of German soil or that such be ever given back to them. Not the churches conquer and cultivate land and soil but exclusively the German nation, the German state.

Eleventh. N orators may never be those who today emphasize with all tricks and cunning verbally and in writing the necessity of maintaining and teaching of christianity in Germany; they not only lie to themselves but also the German nation

goaded

goaded by their love of the positions they hold and the sweet bread they eat.

Twelfth. N orators hold office, government officials under Civil Service rules.

Thirteenth. The N demands immediate cessation of the publishing and dissemination of the Bible in Germany as well as the publication of Sunday papers, pamphlets, publications and books of religious nature.

Fourteenth. The N has to take severe measures in order to prevent the Bible and other christian publications being imported into Germany.

Fifteenth. The N declares that to it, and therefore to the German nation, it has been decided Fuhrer's "Mein Kampf" is the greatest of all documents. It is conscious that this book contains not only the greatest, and that it embodies the purest and truest ethics for the present and future life of our nation.

Sixteenth. The N has made it its sacred duty to use all its energy to popularize the eeternal "Mein Kampf" and to let every German live and complete his life according to this book.

Seventeenth. The N demands that further editions of this book, whatever form they may take, be in

content

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content and pagination exactly similar to the present popular edition.

Eighteenth. The N will clear away from its altars all crucifix plural Bibles and pictures of Saints.

Nineteenth. On the altars there must be nothing but "Mein Kampf", to the German nation and therefore to God the most sacred book and to the left of the altar a sword.

Twentieth. The N speakers must during N services propound this book to the congregation to the best of their knowledge and ability.

Twenty-first. The N does not acknowledge forgiveness of sins. It represents the standpoint which it will always proclaim that a sin once committed will be ruthlessly punished by the honorable and indestructible laws of nature and punishment will follow during the sinner's lifetime.

Twenty-second. The N repudiates the christening of German children particularly the christening with water and the Holy Ghost.

Twenty-third. The parents of a child (or if a new born child) must only take the German oath before the altar which is worded as follows: The man:

"In

"In the name of God I take this Holy oath that I the father of this child, and my wife, are of proven Aryan descent. As a father I agree to bring up this child in the German spirit and as a member of the German race".

The woman: "In the name of God I take this Holy oath that I (name) bore my husband a child and that my husband is the father of this child and that I its mother am of proven Aryan descent. As a mother I swear to bring up this child in the German spirit and as a member of the German race". The German diploma can only be issued to newly born children on the strength of the German oath.

Twenty-fourth. The N abolishes confirmation and religious education as well as the communion the religious preparation for the communion. The educational institutions are and remain the family, the schools, the German youth, the Hitler youth, and the Union of German girls.

Twenty-fifth. In order that school graduation of our German youth be given an especially solemn character all N must put themselves at the disposal of German youth, the Hitler youth and the Union of German girls on the day of the state's youth which

will

will be on the Friday before Easter. On this day the leaders of these organizations exclusively may speak.

Twenty-six. The marriage ceremony of German men and women will consist of taking an oath of faithfulness and placing the right hand on the sword. There will not be any unworthy kneeling in N ceremonies.

Twenty-seven. The N declares the tenth day before Whit Sunday to be the national holiday of the German family.

Twenty-eight. The N rejects the customary day of prayer and atonement. It demands that this be transferred to the holiday commemorating the laying of the foundation stone of the N.

Twenty-nine. The N will not tolerate the establishment of any new clerical religious insignia.

Thirty. On the day of its foundation the Christian cross must be removed from all churches, cathedrals and chapels within the Reich and its colonies and it must be superseded by the only unconquerable symbol of Germany the 'Haken Kreuz'.

PSF; Germany

Hartman 3-41 M

copy

October 25, 1941.

My dear Archbishop:

I am enclosing what I spoke to you about the other day and I know that this is confirmatory of other information which has been received in other places.

With kindest regards,

Faithfully yours,

s/ Franklin D. Roosevelt

His Excellency
Most Rev. Edward Mooney, D.D.
Archbishop of Detroit,
1880 Wellesley Drive,
Detroit, Michigan.

Enclosure.

(Note: See Germany folder for copy of enclosure which is memo regarding the program of the Natl. Reich's Church.

See Germany folder for complete corres. Enclosure is regarding the Natl. Reich's Church (Germany)

1296

Col. Donovan

MEMORANDUM

November 3, 1941

TO: Preston E. James

FROM: Henry S. Sterling

SUBJECT: Map on German Expansion

In accordance with your request, we have searched the back files of Zeitschrift fur Geopolitik and the numbers back to the last war of the principal bibliographies. While we have many general references to German aspirations in the New World, only one published map has been found, prior to the last few months. That was in Otto Richard Tannenberg's Grossdeutschland, published in 1911. I enclose photostat of Tannenberg's map which appears on page 255.

After 1911 there is a gap in our findings until the publication of a map in the New York Daily Mirror for August 25, 1941, said to be identical with maps found in a raid on a German welfare association headquarters in Rosario, Argentina on August 1st. This map was reprinted after the President's talk, on October 30th. Photostats of the map and accompanying text were sent you on Saturday. The only other map is that published in PM on the day following the President's Navy Day talk.

Henry S. Sterling

Enclosure

HS.jp

1296

This Is the Map Roosevelt Meant

This map of German designs on South America appeared in the Mirror's "World Behind the Headlines" page Aug. 25, 1941. The Mirror yesterday received confidential authoritative information that the above map is the same as the one to which President Roosevelt referred in his Navy Day speech, when he mentioned Nazi plans to divide South America into five vassal states. For Detailed Story Keyed to this Map, See Page 12.

DAILY MIRROR THURSDAY OCTOBER 30 1941

Mirror Exposed Nazi Setup for S. America

A detailed report and analysis of the first Nazi attempt to take over South America and the vital Panama Canal zone appeared in the Daily Mirror of Aug. 25, 1941, accompanied by the map, reprinted today on page 3.

It was pointed out then that the attempt was based on long-standing Nazi plans involving Fifth Column as well as direct military action.

President Roosevelt's statement in his Navy Day speech that he had come into possession of a map showing Nazi plans for Latin America conquest confirms the Mirror story. It is surmised the President's information parallels that printed in this paper more than two months ago.

The Mirror story, appearing on "The World Behind the Headlines" page, disclosed the German High Command contemplates attacking South America on three fronts by three independent striking forces. The military action will be aided by disruptive Fifth Column activities. The goal is to chop up the vast continent into five puppet states, perhaps leaving a few rich segments as outright German colonies.

"The difference (between creating puppet states and naming such segments as the Guianas German colonies) is slight," the Mirror noted. "If Hitler's plans for South America come to pass, Berlin will rule the whole continent anyway."

The Mirror outlined the probable Nazi strategy as follows:

1. Campaign against the so-called Coastal Command—Brazil, Venezuela, Guiana, northern Bolivia.

2. Strike next at the Southern Command—Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay and southern Bolivia.

3. Move finally at the Andean Command—Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia and Panama.

See the map on page 3 for best estimate of the planned subdivisions. Puppet governments could be set up in the five great states.

There are roughly 1,250,000 potential Fifth Columnists in South America if you count outright Nazi agents and German colonists who refuse to become assimilated.

Early last Summer, the Mirror disclosed, the German Ministers to Argentina, Bolivia and Peru went to Santiago to confer with their colleagues in Chile. Things began to happen immediately after, which indicated the Nazis were preparing to foment the internal dissolution that opens the door for their armies.

On July 5, Peru launched an attack on Ecuador, using a long-standing territorial dispute as the reason. Diplomats suspected the Axis inspired it.

On July 19, Gen. Peñaranda, president of Bolivia, proclaimed a state of siege, raided Nazi groups and turned up documents indicating the Nazi ministerial confab at Santiago had plotted uprisings in Argentina, Bolivia and Chile and war in Peru.

On this information, Chile and Argentina conducted raids, uncovering arms and propaganda and arresting many plotters.

Thus the first attempt was smashed, but secret Nazi groups are still active, the Mirror article warned.

Nazis Call On F.D. to Show Map

BERLIN, Oct. 29 (AP)—German spokesmen, still fuming over President Roosevelt's Navy Day speech, challenged him today to produce a map which, he said, reveals German aspirations in South America.

If such a map exists, the spokesmen defied the President to prove it authentic.

Authorized Germans studied recently published maps of South America and speculated whether the President referred to any of these. They distributed to foreign correspondents photograph copies of a map which, they said, appeared in the August number of Fortune magazine, showing South America as a sort of political question mark.

ROME, Oct. 29 (UP)—Virginio Gayda said today that unless President Roosevelt publishes the German documents concerning Nazi plans for South America "within 24 hours, he will acquire a reputation sky high as a forger."

Nazi South America

EARLY THIS SUMMER, the German Ministers to Argentina, Bolivia and Peru went to Santiago to confer with their colleagues in Chile. Hardly had they returned to their posts when things began to happen.

On July 5, Peru launched an attack on Ecuador, ostensibly to regain territory which had been in dispute between the two countries for many years without provoking hostilities. First report on the origin of the sudden and unexpected attack came from Brazil, where diplomats stated that Peru had acted at Axis inspiration.

On July 18, Gen. Enrique Penaranda, President of Bolivia, proclaimed a state of siege "because the existence of plots and activities against public order and the legal powers, in collusion with foreign political interests of totalitarian character, has been proven." What Bolivia had discovered was that through German Minister Ernst Wendler, the Bolivian military and air attache in Berlin, Major Elias Paben, had been in touch with a totalitarian revolutionary group in Bolivia, one of whose leaders was ex-Finance Minister Victor Paz Estenssoro.

Others Threatened

Bolivian raids turned up documents showing that the conference of the four German envoys at Santiago had envisaged totalitarian uprisings in Argentina and Chile, as well as in Bolivia and (by the devious means of the war with Ecuador) Peru. As a result of information sent to Buenos Aires from Bolivia, Argentine police on Aug. 1 raided the German Welfare Association at Rosario, arrested 30 persons, and seized documents so damning that Interior Minister Miguel Culaciati ordered the police to put a stop to all activities of the Superior Council of Argentine Nationalism. Among their finds were maps like the one reproduced at the right, showing Hitler's redrawing of South American boundaries.

Similarly warned by Bolivia, Chile swooped down on German and native Nazi organizations, chiefly in the south, where most of Chile's Germans live. They found arms caches, badges showing the swastika dominating Chilean lakes and volcanoes, and plans for the seizure of all strategic points in Chile.

Thus ended the first Nazi attempt to win four South American countries from within, an enterprise whose scope may be appreciated by a glance at the map. Although it was successful in only one country, and only partially so there, that does not mean that there is no danger for the future. For Nazi South America is already a powerful empire, cutting across the borders of the states it seeks to absorb.

Colonization Policy

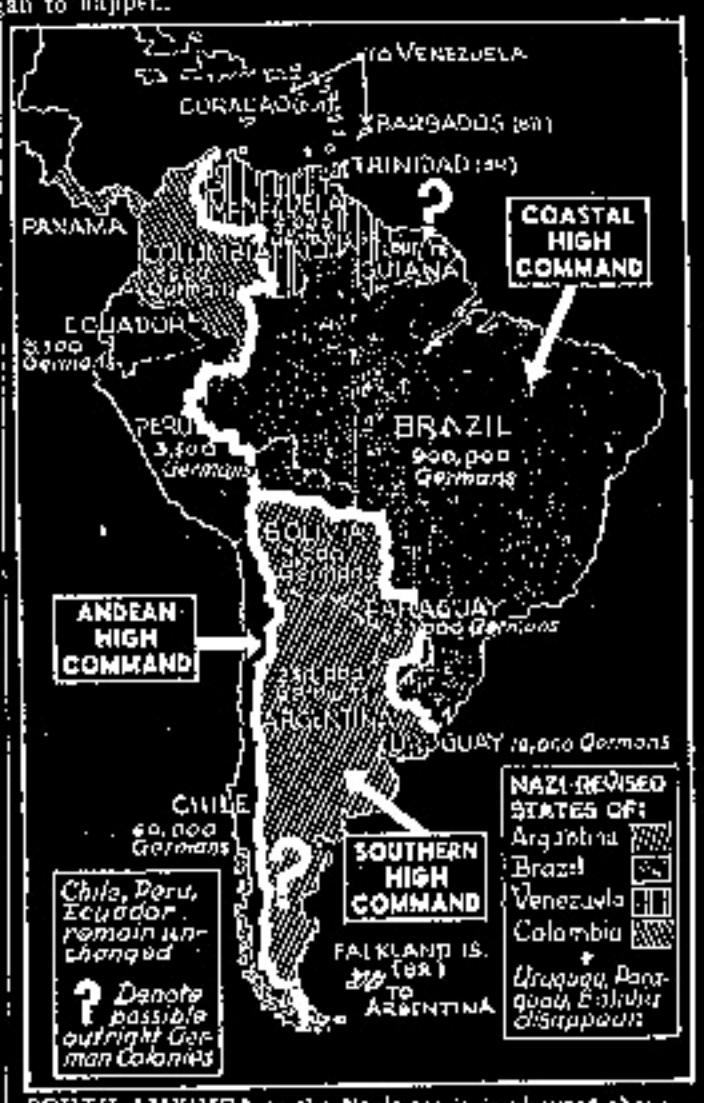
Not all Germans in South America are Nazis, or in situations where they have to take orders from the Nazis, which amounts to the same thing. But Germany has kept strings on many of her sons in South America, not only those who still have German nationality, but even those of the second, third and fourth generations.

For 100 years, Germany has been pursuing a policy of colonization within other states, sending young men to settle permanently abroad, but holding their allegiance and that of their families. Typical is the case of one shipping magnate with five sons, one of whom was kept at home to succeed his father in the business, while the other four were sent abroad (one to South America), with instructions to manage the foreign branches of the business, marry women of the countries they were sent to, raise families there, and not come home.

These colonizing Germans, although they are permanent residents of South America, send their children to German schools, continue to use the German language, and constitute German islands in Latin American countries. South America's toughest problem is to end the subversive activities of members of these colonies who are native-born citizens, with all the privileges of citizens, but who take their orders from the German Consul.

Statistics on the number of Germans in South America are contradictory, because of disagreement as to the definition of a German. But including in that term all those of Germanic origin who have refused to be assimilated in their adopted countries, the figures for the various countries are roughly as follows: Argentina, 250,000; Bolivia, 3,000; Brazil, 900,000; Chile, 60,000; Colombia, 3,500; Ecuador, 5,500; Paraguay, 20,000; Peru, 3,300; Uruguay, 10,000; Venezuela, 4,000. This makes 1,250,000 potential members of Hitler's Fifth Column in South America.

(Tomorrow: Racing fr within—how Nazist organiz tions in Latin America are p paring to make Hitler's o quest for him.)



SOUTH AMERICA as the Nazis see it is pictured above. Germany's Riechswehr has plans in its archives for attacking any nation against which it might ever desire to move—and this is the plan for South America.

The continent has been divided into three "High Commands"—which means into three areas, each of which would be attacked as a unit by a separate force. Probable course of events would be: (1) campaign against Coastal Command (Brazil, Venezuela, Guiana, northern Bolivia); (2) after clean-up there, move into Southern Command (Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, southern Bolivia); (3) last, but not least, move against Andean Command (Chile, Peru, Ecuador, Colombia—and Panama).

German political planners have also chopped South America up, in a way calculated to whet the appetites of Nazis in Argentina, Brazil, Venezuela, and Colombia, all of whom are promised a share of the spoils. Argentina, although she loses the Misiones projection in the north, gets it back with interest by acquiring Paraguay and Uruguay (both once part of Argentina), southern Bolivia and Britain's Falkland Islands. Brazil gets Misiones from Argentina, northern Bolivia and Dutch and French Guiana. Venezuela gets British Guiana, Holland's Curacao, Britain's Trinidad, Barbados and neighboring islands. Colombia gets—Panama!

There are still a couple of strings on these prospective gifts. Nazis in Patagonia, where they have a strong organization, want to be an outright German colony. Nazis in Germany are considering the advisability of taking French and Dutch Guiana themselves, for bases. The difference is slight. If Hitler's plans for South America come to pass, Berlin will rule the whole continent anyway.

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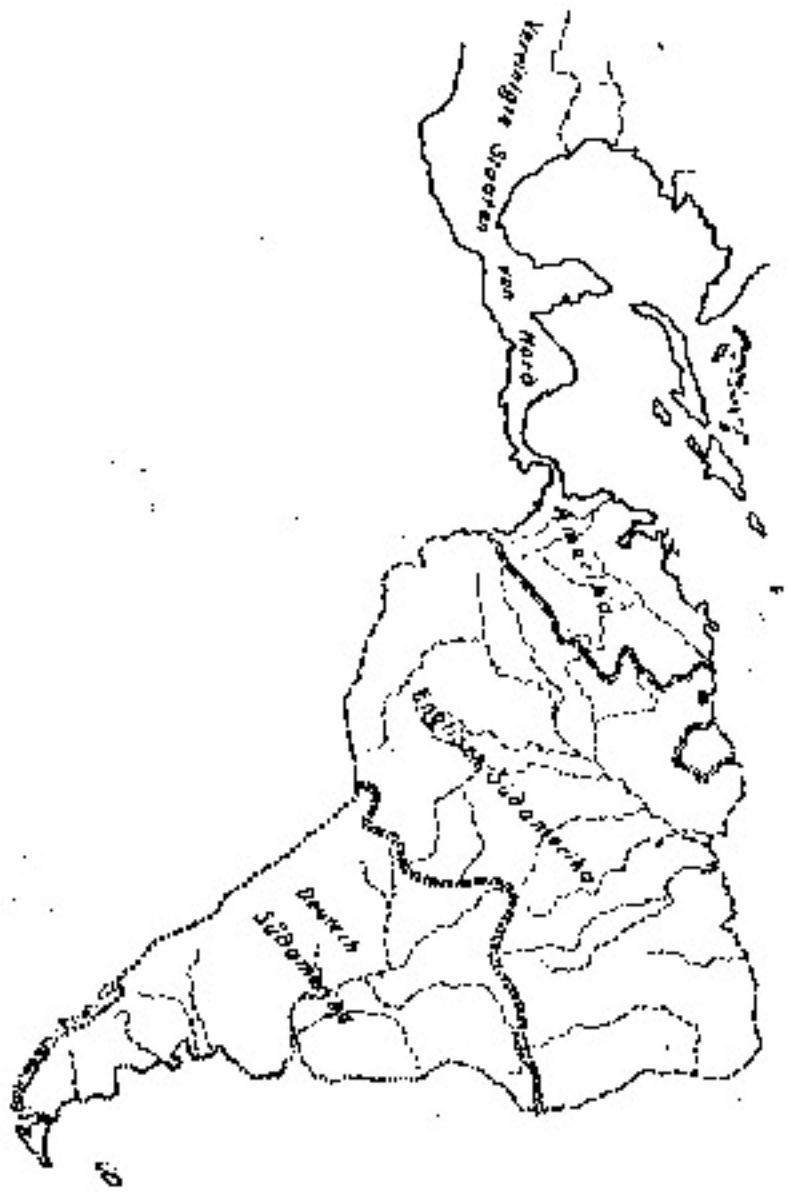

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PM Daily
FIVE CENTS
Copyright, 1941, by The Newspaper PM, Inc.
Vol. II — No. 95
Tuesday, October 28, 1941
Cloudy and cooler.
COMPLETE EDITION

Ralph Ingersoll's Report on Russia:

Why Hitler Can't Conquer Russia Now

Pages 8 9 10 11

FDR Asks Full Speed Ahead to Lick Hitler

"Our Nation will and must speak from every assembly line . . . from every coal mine. . . . Output cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of industrial managers who hold out for extra profits or for 'business as usual.' It cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of labor leaders who are a menace. . . ."

Pages 2, 3, 15

Text of FDR's Most Forthright Speech . . .

Hitler Can Be Stopped, He Says, and Tells How

The text of President Roosevelt's address last night:

Five months ago tonight I proclaimed to the American people the existence of a state of unlimited emergency. Since then much has happened. Our Army and Navy are temporarily in Iceland to the defense of the Western Hemisphere.

Hitler has attacked shipping in areas close to the Americas in the north and south Atlantic.

Many American-owned merchant ships have been sunk on the high seas. One American destroyer was attacked on Sept. 4. Another destroyer was attacked and hit on Oct. 17. Eleven brave and loyal men of our Navy were killed by the Nazis.

We have wished to avoid shooting. But the shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot. In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot (applause).

Directed at Us All

America has been attacked. The USS *Kearny* is not just a navy ship. She belongs to every man, woman and child in this nation.

Illinois, Alabama, California, North Carolina, Ohio, Louisiana, Texas, Pennsylvania, Georgia, Arkansas, New York, Virginia—those are the home states of the honored dead and wounded of the *Kearny*. Hitler's torpedo was directed at every American, whether he lives on our coast or in the innermost part of the nation, far from the seas and far from the guns and tanks of the marching hordes of would-be conquerors of the world.

The purpose of Hitler's attack was to frighten, frighten the American people off the high seas—to force us to make a trembling retreat. This is not the first time that he has misjudged the American spirit. And today that spirit is aroused.

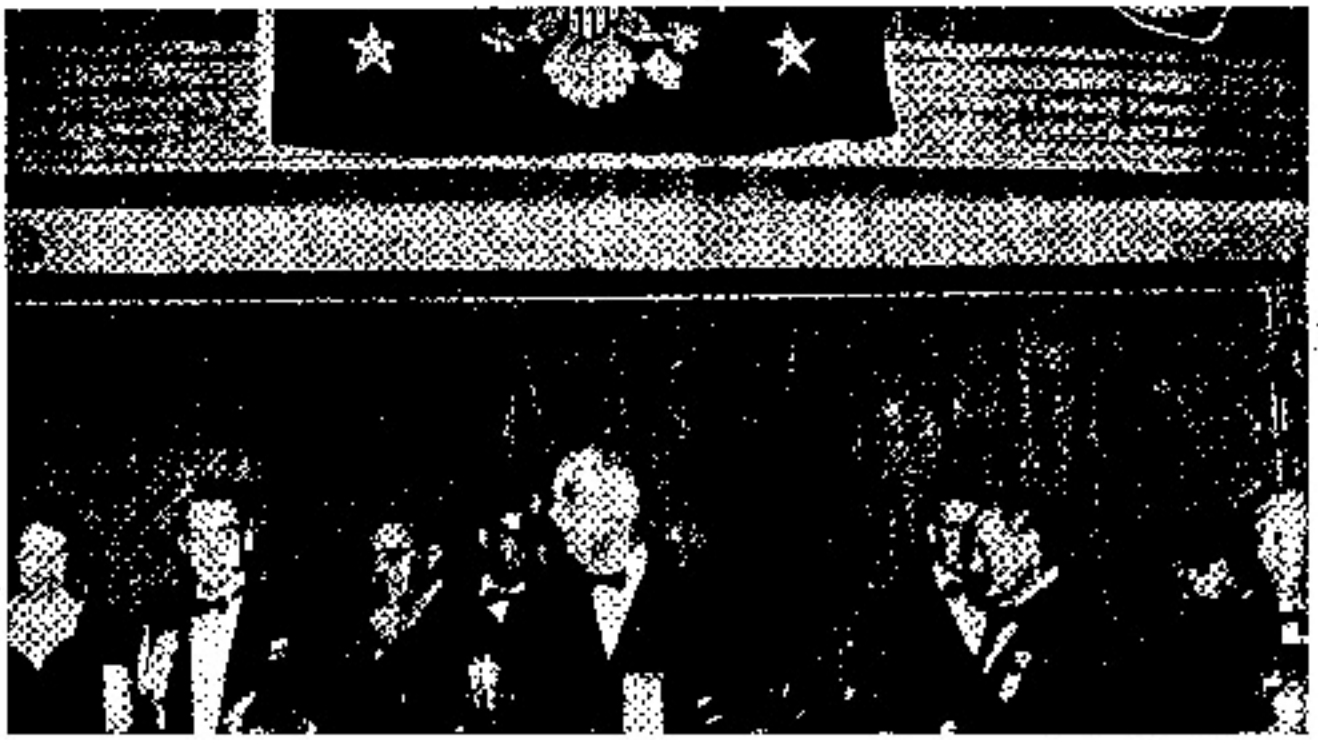
Our Fundamental Policy

If our national policy were to be dominated by the fear of shooting, then all of our ships and those of our sister Republics would have to be tied up in home harbors. Our Navy would have to remain respectfully—abjectly—behind any line which Hitler might decree on any ocean as his own dictated version of his own war zone.

Naturally we reject that absurd and insulting suggestion. We reject it because of our own self interest, because of our own self respect and most of all because of our own good faith. Freedom of the seas is now, as it has always been, the fundamental policy of your Government and of mine.

Hitler has often protested that his plans for conquest do not extend across the Atlantic Ocean. His submarines and raiders prove otherwise. And so does the entire design of his new world order.

For example, I have in my possession a secret map made in Germany by Hitler's government—by the planners of the new world order. It is a map of South America and a part of Central America, as Hitler proposes to reorganize it. Today in this area there are 15 separate countries. But the geographical experts in Berlin have ruthlessly obliterated all existing boundary lines. They have divided South America into five vassal states, bringing the whole continent under their domination. And they have also, as proposed, [illegible]



President Roosevelt at his broadcast last night. Mrs. Roosevelt is at the extreme left, Associate Justice Hugo Black at extreme right.

Photo by Wide World

the Republic of Panama and our great lifeline—the Panama Canal.

That is his plan. It will never go into effect.

And that map makes clear the Nazi design not only against South America but against the United States as well.

Your Government has in its possession another document made in Germany by Hitler's government. It is a detailed plan, which, for obvious reasons, the Nazis did not wish and do not wish to publicize just yet, but which they are ready to impose a little later on a dominated world—if Hitler wins. It is a plan to abolish all existing religions—Catholic, Protestant, Mohammedan, Hindu, Buddhist and Jewish alike. The property of all churches will be seized by the Reich and its puppets. The Cross and all other symbols of religion are to be forbidden. The clergy are to be liquidated, allowed under penalty of the concentration camps, where even now so many fearless men are being tortured because they placed God above Hitler.

In the place of the churches of our civilization, there is to be set up an international Nazi church—a church which will be served by orators sent out by the Nazi government. And in the place of the *Bible*, the words of *Mein Kampf* will be imposed and enforced as holy writ. And in place of the Cross of Christ will be put two symbols—the Swastika and the naked sword.

The God—a god—of blood and iron will take the place of the God of love and mercy.

Let us well ponder that statement which I have made tonight.

The forward march of Hitler and of Hitlerism can be stopped—and it will be stopped (applause).

Very simply and very bluntly—we are pledged to pull our own oar in the destruction of Hitlerism.

Our Primary Task

And when we have helped to end the curse of Hitlerism we shall help to establish a new peace which will give to decent people everywhere a better chance to live and

Every day that passes we are producing and providing more and more arms for the men who are fighting on actual battlefronts. That is our primary task.

And it is the nation's will that those vital arms and supplies of all kinds shall neither be locked up in American harbors nor sent to the bottom of the sea. It is the nation's will that America shall deliver the goods. In open defiance of that will, our ships have been sunk and our sailors have been killed.

I say that we do not propose to take this lying down (applause).

That determination of ours not to take it lying down has been expressed in the orders to the American Navy to shoot on sight and those orders stand.

Furthermore, the House of Representatives has already voted to amend a part of the neutrality act of 1937, today outmoded by forces of violent circumstances. The Senate Committee on Foreign Relations has also recommended elimination of other hamstringing provisions to that act. That is the course of honesty and of realism.

'Full Speed Ahead'

Our American merchant ships must be armed to defend themselves against the ruthlessness of the sea.

Our American merchant ships must be free to carry our American goods into the harbors of our friends.

Our American merchant ships must be protected by our American Navy (applause).

In the light of a good many years of personal experience, I think it can never be doubted that the goods will be delivered by this nation, whose Navy believes in the tradition of "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead!"

Yes, our nation will and must speak from every assembly line. Yes, from every coal mine (applause). **The all-inclusive whole of our vast industrial machine, our factories and our shipyards are constantly expanding, our output must be multiplied.**

That output cannot be hampered by the selfish obstruction of a small but dangerous minority of labor leaders who are a menace (applause)—**for labor as a whole knows that that small minority is a menace to the true cause of labor itself, as well as to the nation as a whole.**

The lines of our essential defense now cover all the seas and to meet the extraordinary demands of today and tomorrow our Navy grows to unprecedented size. Our Navy is ready for action. Indeed, units of it in the Atlantic patrol are in action. Its officers and men need no praise from me.

Promises Best Equipment

Our new Army is steadily developing the strength needed to withstand the aggressors. Our soldiers of today are worthy of the proudest traditions of the United States Army. But traditions cannot shoot down dive bombers or destroy tanks. That is why we must and shall provide, for every one of our soldiers, equipment and weapons—not merely as good but better than that of any other army on earth. And we are doing that right now.

These grim truths which I have told you of the present and future plans of Hitlerism will, of course, be hotly denied tonight and tomorrow in the controlled press and radio of the Axis powers. **And some Americans will continue to insist that Hitler's plans need not worry us—and that we should not concern ourselves with anything that goes on beyond rifle shot of our own shores.**

The protestations of these few American citizens will, as usual, be paraded with applause through the Axis press and radio during the next few days, in an effort to convince the world that the majority of Americans are opposed to their duly chosen Government, and in reality are only waiting to jump on Hitler's band wagon when it comes this way.

The motive of such Americans is not the point at issue. The fact is that Nazi propaganda continues in desperation to seize upon such isolated statements as proof of

. . . A Challenge to Enemies at Home and Abroad

Speculation On Nazi Aims

FDR has a map of Nazi plans to divide South America into five vassal states—a map he did not make public when he spoke of it last night. But at the right is a guess at what it shows—based on German publications from Imperial days.

The map is based on studies by Professor Karl Haushofer of the Munich Institute of Geopolitics, and presumably collaboration with large Italian banks which have almost 1000 branch offices in Latin America.

The five zones which would be under German, Italian and Spanish domination are: (1) Colombia, re-absorbing not only Panama (and the Canal Zone) but all the Central American republics and the West Indies with Cuba, would be run by France Spain. (2) Venezuela and the Guianas would be a German colony. (3) Peru, Ecuador and northern Bolivia under Italian influence. (4) Northern Brazil nominally independent. (5) Argentina, Chile, Uruguay, Paraguay, southern Bolivia and southern Brazil, part of Greater Germany. Zone 5 is the most favorable for European settlement because of its climate.

The general principle of this scheme has been formulated very clearly by Claus Wuggner, a leading German writer on Latin America:

"Not only North America but all America must be a bulwark of the Teutonic race. South America must also become a home of a new race . . . resettlement by people of Teutonic stock [with] removal of the non-Teutonic inhabitants to reservations, or best of all, to Africa."

Not available for study by any but high Nazi officials are the maps and documents of the Deutsches Auslands Institut upon which modern German plans for expansion into the Western Hemisphere are based.

The Munich *Institute of Geopolitics* and Italian business interests would like to see Latin America look like this: Germany, Italy and Spain ruling the five zones, with German influence predominant.

Who Fires Last Shot Is What Will Count

By Kenneth C. Crawford
PM's Washington Bureau

Last night's address was by far the most forthright the President has made. It was a flat challenge to the country's enemies at home and abroad.

Both classes of enemies were identified:

¶ At home, the Hitler apologists, isolationist demagogues who are trying to make "extra profits" out of the emergency, and labor leaders who indulge in "selfish obstructionism."

¶ Abroad, the Hitler gang.

"We have wished to avoid shooting," FDR said. "But shooting has started. And history has recorded who fired the first shot. In the long run, however, all that will matter is who fired the last shot."

To dispel the last doubts of anyone who still thinks the U. S. A. can avoid a head-on conflict, the President charged:

¶ Nazis have drawn up plans to divide South America into five vassal states, one of which includes the Panama Canal, "our great lifeline."

¶ They have a detailed plan to abolish all religions by seizing church property, liquidating clergymen, and substituting *Mein Kampf* for the Bible.

He said he had documents to prove these charges.

How We'll Do It

For the first time, FDR also told in some detail how he proposes to stop Hitler. The nation, he said, must utilize "every assembly line in our vast industrial machine" for production. He departed from his prepared speech to add that this includes the coal mines.

This interpolation was loudly cheered by his audience in the Mayflower Hotel ballroom.

FDR praised the Russian war effort without reserve. He said no one who admired the qualities of courage and endurance could help admiring the resistance of the Russians.

(Continued) Text of Roosevelt's Defense Day Address

their own list of modern American heroes. It is, fortunately, a short list. I am glad that that list does not contain my name (applause).

And so all of us Americans, of all opinions, in the last analysis are faced with the choice between the kind of world we want to live in and the kind of world which Hitler and his hordes would impose upon us.

Now, no one wants to burrow under the ground and live in total darkness like a comfortable mole.

For this and all of this—is what we mean by total national defense.

The first objective of that defense is to stop Hitler. He can be stopped and can be handled to dig in. And that will be the beginning of his downfall, because dictatorships of the Hitler type can live only through continuing victories—increasing aggression.

The facts of 1918 are proof that a mighty German Army and a tired German people can crumble rapidly and go to pieces when they are faced with successful resistance.

Russia Must Be Aided

Nobody who admires quality of courage and endurance can fail to be affected by the hedged resistance of the Russian people. The Russians are fighting for their own and their own homes. Russia needs all sorts of help—planes, tanks, guns, medical aids and other aids—toward the successful defense against the invaders. From the United States and from Britain, she is getting great quantities of these essential supplies. But the needs of her huge army will continue—and our help and British help will have to continue.

The other day the Secretary of State of the United States was asked by a Senator to justify our giving aid to Russia. His reply was:

"The answer to that depends on how anxious a person is to stop and destroy the march of Hitler in his conquest of the world. If he were anxious enough to defeat Hitler, he would not worry about who was helping to defeat him."

Upon our American production falls the colossal task of equipping our own armed forces, and helping to supply the British, the Russians and the Chinese. In the performance of that task we dare not fail. And we will not fail.

It has not been easy for us Americans to adjust ourselves to the shocking realities of a world in which the principles of common humanity and common decency are being mowed down by the firing squads of the Gestapo. We have enjoyed many of God's blessings. We have lived in a broad and abundant land, and by our industry and productivity we have made it flourish.

There are those who say that our great good fortune has betrayed us—that we are now no match for the regimented masses who have been trained in the Spartan ways of ruthless brutality. They say that we have grown fat and flabby and lazy—and that we are doomed.

But those who say that know nothing of America or of American life.

Land of Endless Challenge

They do not know that this land is great because it is a land of endless challenge. Our country was first populated, and it has been steadily developed, by men and women in whom there burned the spirit of adventure and restlessness and individual independence which will not tolerate oppression.

Ours has been a story of vigorous challenges which have been accepted and overcome—challenges of uncharted seas, of wild forests and desert plains, of raging floods and withering drought, of foreign tyrants and domestic strife, of staggering problems social, economic and physical; and we have come out of them the most powerful nation—and the freest—in all of history (applause).

Today in the face of the newest and greatest challenge of them all, we Americans have cleared our decks and taken our battle stations. We stand ready in the defense of our nation and in the faith of our fathers to do what God has given us the power to see as our full duty.

IN PM TODAY

Because of the importance of the President's address (one which every American should read) PM's departments have been rearranged today to print the text of the speech on Page 2. Kenneth Crawford (Page 3) calls it the President's "most forthright speech." Nathan Robertson (Page 4) reports on the neutrality fight. I. F. Stone (Page 15) writes on the President's fight with John L. Lewis.

Ralph Ingersoll continues his Report on Russia . . . Pages 8-11.

Other departments:

Obstructionist Keynote: Don't Shoot Rattlesnake

Vandenberg Would Let Hitler Keep Initiative

By Nathan Robertson
PM's Washington Bureau

Senate obstructionists opened their fight yesterday to keep the neutrality law with a proposal to let Hitler choose when to make war on America—just as he chose when it was to his advantage to begin fighting each of the European nations.

This was the most striking point in the lead-off speech by Senator Arthur Vandenberg (R., Mich.) against the Administration proposal to arm U. S. merchant ships and let them deliver munitions of war to Great Britain.

The half-voiced Michigan Senator warned that the legislation would lead to "all out war." While he condemned Hitler as "the curse of the modern world" and characterized the sinking of the American-flag ship *Lehigh* as the "act of wanton pirate," he said he would "never move voluntarily in the direction of a shooting war."

Cites 1917 Provocation

Instead, he proposed that we "should leave the war initiative with Germany where it now rests," at least until a more consistent pattern of Germany attack has been presented to us.

Vandenberg said that before we entered the World War 20 American ships had been attacked. He agreed that a repetition of that record would "call for war," but said that so far in this war only three American-flag ships had been sunk.

While agreeing that British victory and the defeat of Hitler both were important to the U. S. A., Vandenberg said they were "not indispensable to our successful survival." He contended the U. S. A. could be of more help to Britain as a neutral than as a belligerent.

Challenge to U. S. A.

"I do not believe," he said, "that this program contributes to the defeat of Hitler. If we become involved in the war the American people will rightly demand that more arms and war material be retained for our own armed forces, and this may mean less lend-lease aid for the others."

Senator Tom Connally (D., Texas), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, opened the debate with a two hour discussion chiefly confined to the Battle of the Atlantic. He said the hope that we could keep out of trouble by keeping our ships out of danger zones had proved "illusory."

"Hitler has decreed the death of our citizens and the destruction of our ships wherever his armed vessels may find them," Connally declared. "The United States cannot and will not submit to such a doctrine, based alone upon the armed military might of Nazi Germany and the ambition of Hitler. The United States cannot admit his dominion of all the seas."

Connally argued that repeal of the shipping restrictions in the neutrality act would constitute "no act that is unneutral," but would "simply remove the inhibitions and prohibitions of domestic legislation which Congress imposed upon the citizens of the United States."

Connally then discussed the broader implications.

"The invasion of peaceful Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Norway and other nations of Europe and direct threats to the security of the Western Hemisphere," he said, "reveal the Nazi plan for what many of us believe is a campaign for world domination and world conquest.

"The primary concern of the Congress and the people of the United States is the defense of our country and the lives and liberties of our people. The threat to things which the people of the United States hold dear has become increasingly imminent and ominous with each new conquest in Europe and with the subjugation of each added nation.

Their Interest Is Ours

"The people of the United States have determined in the interest of their own necessary self defense to give aid to the nations resisting aggression and which are endeavoring to prevent their conquest by Nazi and Fascist aggressors. As a part of the plan for our own national self defense, we adopted the policy of extending aid to the nations resisting aggression. That policy was embodied in the lend lease act.

"The restrictions upon the movement of American shipping imposed by the so called neutrality act of 1939 seriously impede the successful operation of the lend-lease act. The passage of this resolution will lose American shipping; it will greatly stimulate activities under the lend lease act, and it will materially increase the volume of supplies going to the belligerent countries of Europe."

Lineup for Today's Debate

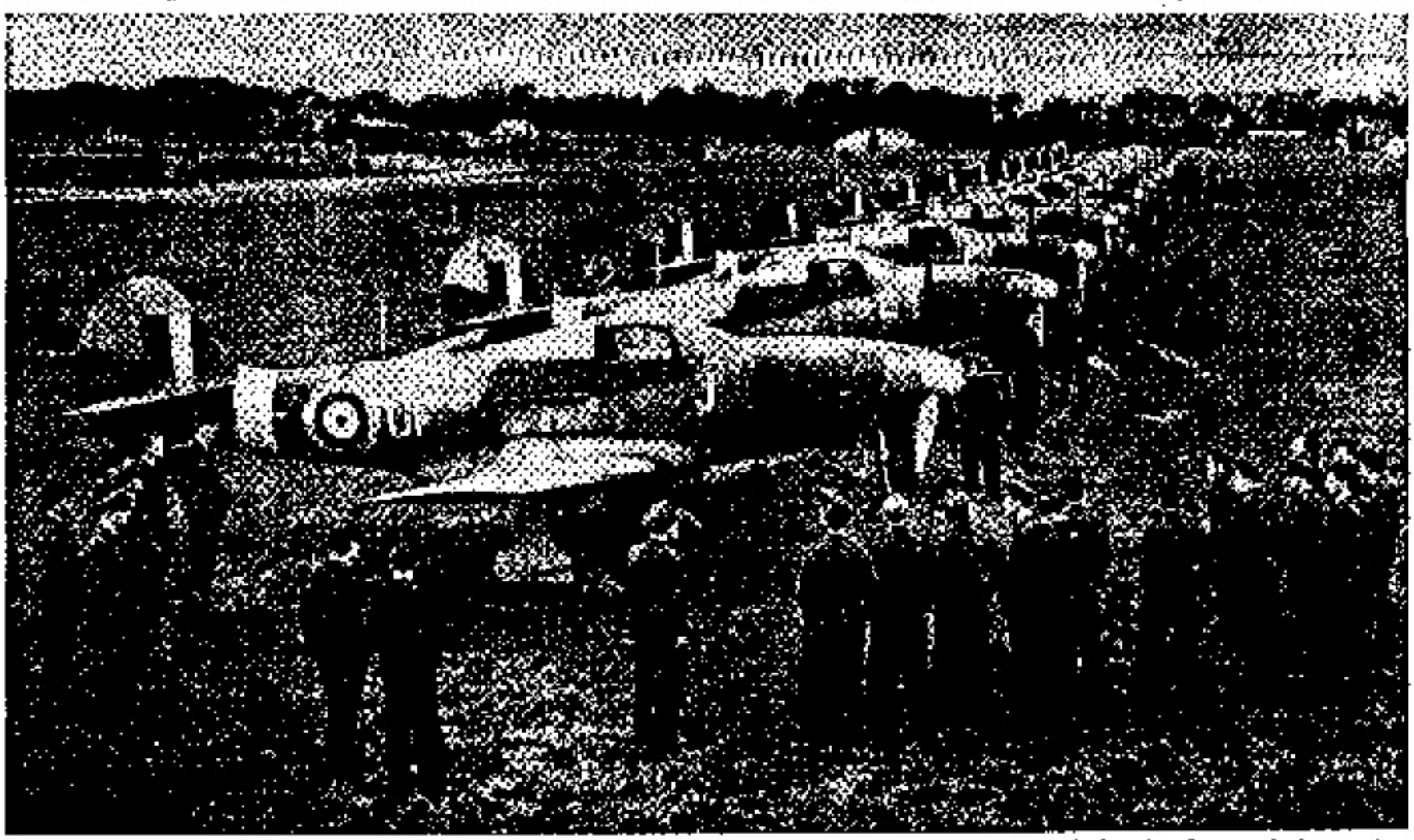
Senator Walter F. George (D., Ga.), former Foreign Relations Committee chairman, speaks for the Administration today in the neutrality act debate. Senator Robert A. Taft (R., O.) speaks for the opposition.

Good News

To John Cudahy, Hitler looks as if he is suffering from a malignant disease and hasn't long to live. Cudahy, former Ambassador to Belgium and Poland got that impression when he interviewed Hitler last year, he told the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. Cudahy had also heard the story that in his paroxysms of rage, Hitler falls on the floor and chews carpets.

Just as FDR Said They Would

An authorized Nazi statement said today that President Roosevelt's Navy Day speech would cause the greatest confusion of in Germany, and his charge that Germany planned to remake South America was "the high point in the Roosevelt fantasy and the creation of a crazy and absurd imagination."



The RAF Is Shooting Down Nazi Raiders With These Made-in-America Airacobras

This picture will cheer up Americans who have heard too much about turtle-slow American production, not enough about the goods we are delivering to anti-Hitler fighters. It shows deadly Bell Airacobras, made in Buffalo, at an active fighter station in Great Britain.

Nazis Admit Moscow Siege Stalls . . . Rostov in Peril

Weather Gives Red Army Support . . . But Germans Bomb Moscow Anew

By William Walton

SOVIET WEATHER REPORT:
Archangel: freezing weather, Oct. 11.
Leningrad: usual freezing date, Nov. 1.
Moscow: first heavy frosts, Nov. 12.
Rostov: winter arrives, Dec. 1.

More closely than the Supreme Court follows election returns the Soviet German war is following weather charts. Today fighting has sloughed off on the far northern front, is slowing down at Leningrad. The Moscow front still is under heavy pressure but all signs are that the tempo lessens, while in the far south the coverage is true, each day brings an increase in the fury of Nazi attacks. War slows down as fall rains splash slowly southward along the fighting front.

There is no doubt Leningrad's valiant citizens and a section of the Red Army have kept Hitler's encircling army out of the second largest Soviet city. But, too, there is no doubt autumn rains, starting about Oct. 1, were a prime factor in slowing down mechanized assault.

Moscow has put up a courageous defense and will do this end, if necessary, but it too is now getting the aid of an effective ally, winter weather.

And the southern Ukraine, with Rostov-on-Don as the focal point, gets the worst of it for favorable weather conditions still prevailing there attract the full strength of the German attack.

Nazis Deplore Mud

Moscow and Berlin war dispatches today both stressing the importance of weather conditions. Nazi military spokesmen in Berlin said their advance was being delayed by bad weather and declared that some decent, roadless highways were all they needed.

The German High Command tried to deprecate Soviet resistance by talking of rain, snow and mud difficulties, but it acknowledged the Russians were making counter-attacks on the Moscow and Donets basin fronts. Otherwise German war dispatches were not detailed, a notable feature in Berlin's treatment of the Moscow siege for more than a week.

A Moscow broadcast describing 148 Russian counterattacks on both the Moscow and Leningrad fronts, asserted that German soldier morale was breaking down, but admitted that Axis armies were making alarming progress on the southern front where Rostov is gravely threatened.

Moscow Bombed

The Moscow radio made no mention of German raids on the capital. However, from Kuibyshev, where part of the Government has headquarters, came dispatches saying Moscow was under such heavy attack that the subways had been reopened as air-raid shelters.

Kuibyshev said all German thrusts against Moscow had been repulsed and some ground regained. Many villages were said to be changing hands constantly as the battle rages back and forth. But at Kalinin, 100 miles northwest of Moscow, the tempo of fighting has definitely eased, the dispatches declared.

Moscow said its front lines were holding at Mozhaisk, Maloyaroslavets and Kalinin where they have stood for 10 days.

Of German morale, Moscow had this to say, basing its assertions on statements of prisoners captured along the Moscow front: "The last 20 days has seen a distinct deterioration in Nazi attitude and also in the appearance of soldiers. Many are covered with lice. Their uniforms are tattered. Thousands have physical defects, indicating either that Hitler is reduced to using his most inferior men or that the best soldier material has been shifted to the southern front.

Southern Front

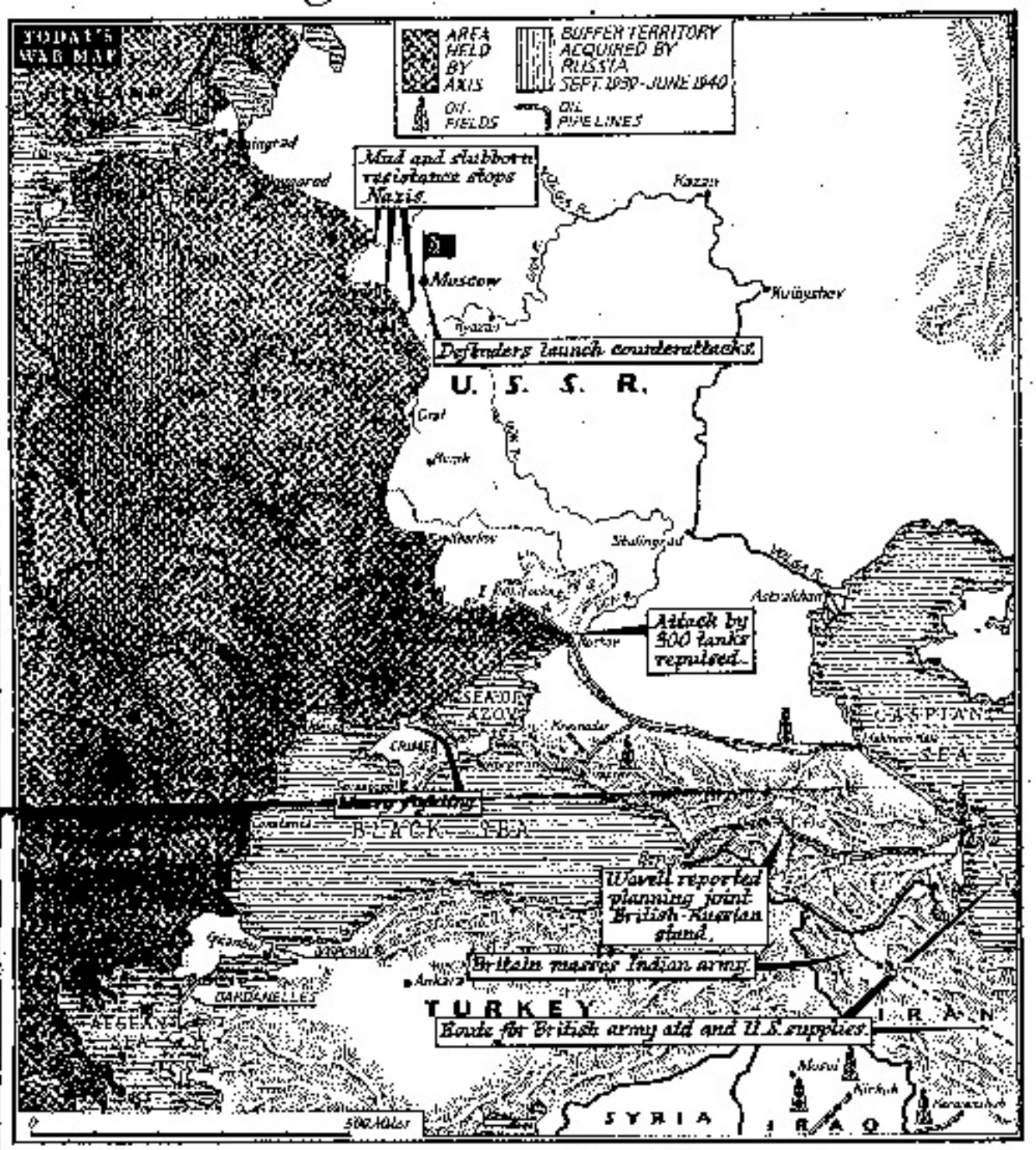
The darker side of the Russian picture is on the southern front. There Nazi pressure continues against Rostov, key to the Caucasus and the Baku oil fields. Moscow said a 300-tank assault had been repulsed, with the loss of 14 German tanks, but still the city's plight is critical. Fighting is fierce at the approach to the Crimea.

Already plunged deep into the Donets industrial basin, the Germans threaten to overrun it entirely and to cut off all the USSR from its vital southern oil and industrial resources, it was admitted.

An unconfirmed London report, relayed by the United Press, said that Gen. Sir Archibald Wavell had been in Tiflis for a week conferring with Marshal Timoshenko about possible joint Russian British defense of the Caucasus and the Baku oil fields. The United Press said it was believed Britain might send an expeditionary force from adjoining Iran if the Germans reach some specified point, possibly Rostov.

Hitler is moving fast on his southern drive, taking advantage of the five weeks or so of favorable weather that remain before rain, sleet and penetrating cold creep down from the north.

The rainy season, marking the onset of winter, is only a day of grace for the Red Army, however. It will be followed by real winter, with completely frozen earth, rock-solid rivers and mantles of snow. In the far north snow will be deep enough to prevent any major mechanized military operations. But around Moscow it may be possible to use tanks since snow usually averages only about a foot and seldom thaws. In the south mechanized warfare conditions will be definitely improved for snow is seldom more than three inches deep and the frozen earth is much better tank terrain than the autumnal sea of mud.



Assorted War Claims In Today's Dispatches

Here they are, for what they are worth:

¶ Berlin: The Russians are preparing total destruction of Moscow if it falls—dynamite, oil, straw and matches already distributed for the purpose.

¶ London: Gen. Ottenbacher, commander of the German 20th or 93rd Division, was killed when his plane was shot down near Kalinin.

¶ Berlin: The radio, heard by NBC, quoted Turkish sources as saying 50 Soviet steamers had taken refuge in Turkish ports.

¶ Moscow: BBC quoted the Red Army newspaper *Red Star* that the Germans have lost 35,000 casualties in six weeks' fighting for Leningrad.

¶ Kuibyshev: Hitler's capture of the Donets city of Stalin cost him 50,000 men and tremendous quantities of war materials.

Radio News and Comment on the War

Moscow Nearly Lost on Oct. 15

BBC reported last night that, according to an account by the *News-Chronicle* correspondent in Russia, Philip Jordan, Moscow almost was lost on Oct. 15 when German tanks and motorized infantry broke through the defenses and started down the road to the capital.

The text of the BBC broadcast as heard here by CBS:

"How the Russian troops flung themselves into a gap in the Moscow defenses and saved the city during its three most critical days is described by Philip Jordan, the London *News-Chronicle*'s correspondent in Russia.

"Jordan says that on October the 15th, German tanks and motorized infantry broke through the defenses and started down the road to Moscow. Jordan continues: 'All day and night during the 16th and 17th, some of the finest Russian divisions streamed west to stem the tide. They took up positions on not very strongly constructed defenses where they fought an enemy who had all the advantages of tremendous impetus, as well as the hope of capturing suddenly the greatest prize of the war.

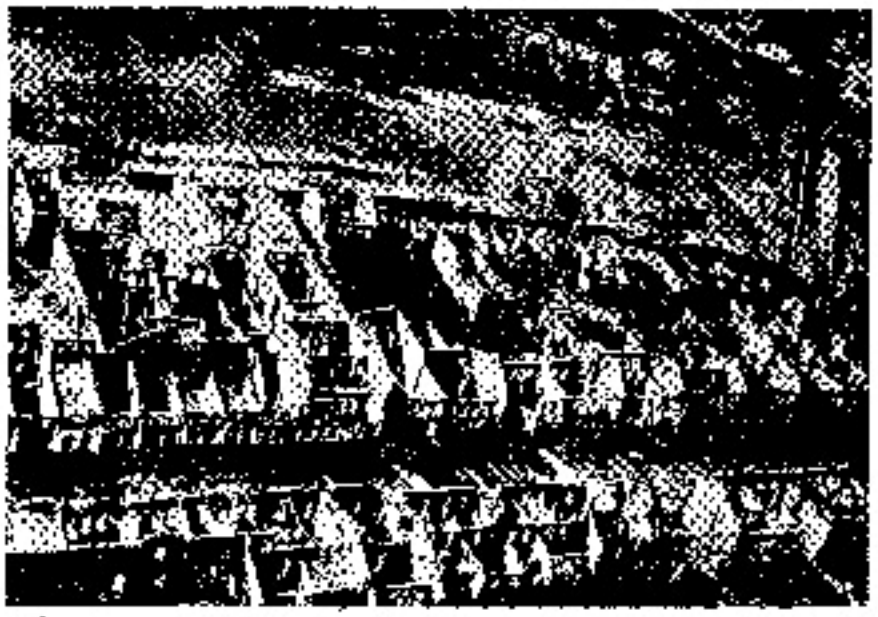
"'For 48 hours the battle raged. At the end of that time, the Germans had been hurled back to near Mozhaisk and all the territory so suddenly lost on the 15th of October was recaptured by the Russians. Thus was Moscow saved on that day of October the 17th.'

"Jordan adds that the Germans have brought troops from north and south to assist in the desperate effort to conquer before the winter. But, says Jordan, the Russians have prevented the Germans from achieving their main objectives: the use of Moscow for winter quarters, the use of the Don basin factories and the total destruction in the field of the Russian Army."

'Grandfather of the Quisling'

John McVane, NBC correspondent in London, yesterday told this story concerning the Duke of Bedford, author of a recent pamphlet urging an immediate peace with Germany.

"There's a statue of one of the Duke's ancestors, Francis, Duke of Bedford, in London, and last night someone painted it in yellow paint with several inscriptions ranging from 'Grandfather of the Quisling' to 'Down with the Duke and the railings.' The railings around the statue are apparently still there and some people think they should be scrapped for munitions. A knee sign has also been painted and part of the face is painted yellow and red, and a red, white and blue ribbon has been dropped around the neck."



The German caption identifies this town as Sinyaya after its capture by the German armies. Slanyia is in the Leningrad area. Only three houses in the street have roofs. Germans claim they rebuilt bridge on the right.

De Gaullist Instructs French to Strike For Five Minutes—No More, No Less

A spokesman for Gen. Charles de Gaulle in a BBC broadcast yesterday told French workers how to carry on a five minute "national unity" strike next Friday.

The Free French spokesman said:

"The victory that disarmed France was over the enemy is the victory of the spirit over the beast—it is a French victory above all. The admiration and respect with which it inspires the world must be felt with pride by every Frenchman. This pride will be recorded for the world in the manifestation of national unity which next Friday from 4 p.m. to five minutes past 4 will cover all France in scornful meditation, in memory of the innocents who have been murdered and in the will to avenge them. . . .

"The national strike is to last five minutes and not a moment longer. It will take place in absolute silence. All other manifestations showing grief would only serve the enemy and the traitors. It is also necessary that at five minutes past 4 everyone should return to his occupation without a single word, without forming any parade. . . .".

A legitimate question arises as to just what De Gaulle's policy toward the people of France is designed to accomplish. If obeyed, it opens the French people to harsh reprisals. The five-minute strike is a pony lever on which to risk the lives of thousands of Frenchmen who might be shot if they carried out De Gaulle's orders to strike. If the De Gaullists want to serve a useful purpose, a five-day strike, really building up produc-

Marines of the Royal Netherlands Navy, stationed in the Dutch East Indies, during recent training maneuvers.

Nazis Taking U. S. Milk

One of the Free French radios, Radio Antoine, which is said to broadcast from somewhere inside France, reported yesterday that "American condensed milk, sent from the U. S. A. to the starving infants of France, has been confiscated by Nazi military requisition agents and sent to Berlin to be sold there." The broadcast was heard here by NBC.

Iran Studies Treaty Terms

Martin Agronsky, NBC correspondent in Ankara, reported yesterday that the tripartite Anglo-Russian treaty with Iran, recently mentioned by British Foreign Minister, Anthony Eden, will be signed in Teheran before the end of this week.

The tentative terms of the treaty, drawn up following a consultation between the Soviet and British governments, were handed to the Iranian Prime Minister last week, Agronsky said, and are now under examination by the Iranian government and Parliament.

The British and Russian sides of the treaty, according to Agronsky's report, cover roughly the following Anglo-Russian guarantees:

¶ Full economic and financial help to Iran.

¶ Full military aid, if necessary, including an Anglo-Russian pledge to defend Iran's territorial integrity against any foreign aggression.

¶ An Anglo-Russian promise to inform the Iranian Government beforehand of any action that may directly affect Iranian interests.

¶ An Anglo-Russian guarantee to withdraw all British and Soviet troops from Iran immediately after the international situation warrants such a move.

¶ A reaffirmation by Britain and Russia of Iran's complete sovereignty and independence, including a guarantee of non-interference with Iran's internal affairs.

On the Iranian side, Agronsky said, the treaty provides for a clear confirmation by Iran of willingness to allow the full use of all Iran's communications by the Anglo-Russian combination and the establishment and operation in Iran of British and Soviet military forces.

Goebbelgram Contest Nears End

. . . Entrants Wish Same to Him

It is seldom that sudden death is a good wish—yet sudden death is among the more kindly hopes offered Joseph Goebbels in PM's Goebbelgram contest. The contest closes at 6 o'clock this evening.

We are offering a $25 first prize and a $10 second prize for the best birthday message to the Nazi propagandandas. The winning message positively will be sent to Goebbels on his birthday tomorrow. And each message printed in PM will get the writer $1.

The birthday messages may be sent in on any kind of paper, no contributions will be returned and the decision of the Goebbelgram Editor will be final.

Hundreds on hundreds of entries have been received. By last midnight, a total of 204 animals had rhymed *forty four* and no more. A total of 198 pointed about a .44 revolver. A total of 150 had played with the telegraphic period *stop*. Forty-five had recommended cyanide; 82 suggested arsenic.

Hundreds of others were bright, fresh and devastating. A psychologist might decide that America hated Goebbels with a healthy, innocent hate. Most of the Goebbelgrams wanted something done about it.

Here are some of the entries that, so far, win $1 prizes:

May your next lie read: "I am well and alive."
Cleveland J. E. RAFFAELE

Hope you get lockjaw and sealck at the same time.
Jamaica, L. I. DOUGLAS D. MACDONALD

Mother Goose Goebbels, despite your fables, the other Joe is turning the tables.
Wilkes Barre, Pa. JACK MILLER

Recommend regular use of Drano. Your brain pipes are back-firing.
The Bronx ANTONIQUE DENTELLE

God keep you, but immediately.
Philadelphia ROBERT FRESCHL

We, the Negro people, join hands with the white nationals of all lands in condemning you to death on your 44th birthday. Because your sadist and will enjoy seeing millions of humans die and suffer and because of your filthy lies and warped conception of humanity, we the people of the world find you guilty of high treason to all humanity.
Bronx PAUL DUNBAR

Many happy returns you zombie. Hope you meet a double bombe.
Brooklyn LEON KAPLOWITZ

I say *Mazel Tov, Mazel Tov, Mazel Tov, Doktor*. If you believe that, I'll believe your *Beobachter!*
Bronx PHYLLIS FERGUSON

Tomorrow we give you the winner.

RAF Raids Seem to Be Luring Luftwaffe Away From Russia

Nazi Defenders Numerous . . . British Set Combined Losses at 22 in 24 Hours

By Lucien Coeant, Jr.

Between the lines of yesterday's communiques on the air front is the admission that Germany has been forced to withdraw badly needed squadrons from the Eastern Front to protect its western back door.

The RAF followed up a night attack along 1000 miles of Nazi-occupied coastal territory with a daylight sweep over France and Belgium, which resulted in scores of dog fights. London placed the day's loss at 11 British planes nine fighters and two bombers and seven German planes five fighters and two bombers.

Sunday's loss was set by the British at four RAF bombers, a figure the German High Command raised to nine. But regardless of conflicting figures, there is ample evidence of a suddenly increased aerial fighting in the west. And that can mean only that the sustained British raids of recent weeks have achieved their prime goal in requiring the transfer of German units from the Russian front.

An American Eagle pilot was praised for shooting down two Messerschmitts.

The night raids carried the RAF as far south as Nantes and north along the Norwegian coast. British pilots reported seeing large fires after their bombing of Hamburg.

The British Air Ministry also revealed yesterday that American-built Consolidated B-24 bombers, known across the seas as Liberators, had swung into action with the Coastal Command and had given good accounts of themselves in protecting inbound convoys.

The Berlin radio, quoting the Moscow radio, said that the Russian icebreaker Krasin had been bombed and heavily damaged the German seas. Murmansk. This indicates that the Luftwaffe is losing no time in trying to prevent shipments of American war materials to Russia from reaching the port of Archangel.

Berlin claimed also the sinking of an 8000-ton freighter off eastern England and hits on three others. It also admitted the British inland raids of Sunday.

In the Mediterranean, four Axis communiques claim the sinking of British warships near the Libyan-Egyptian border. The United Press considers it possible that all communiques refer to the same ship, since the location in each case is roughly between besieged Tobruk and Sidi Barrani. London has made no official statement of data concerning naval activity in this area.

Vichy Ousts All Unions

Vichy speeded up its formation of a totalitarian economy yesterday as the Nazis announced a second and this time indefinite—reprieve for the other 100 French hostages still facing the death penalty. Ten hundred already have been executed for the assassination of two German officers.

Timed, perhaps, to appease German anger, Vichy announced last night the abolition of all political and sectarian trade unions. At the same time, all workers and employers were ordered to join government-controlled "corporations."

The new labor statute 15 months in the making outlaws strikes and lockouts, makes arbitration compulsory and gives the Government full power to shift workers from one trade to another or from community to community.

Briefly, it is a Fascist setup.

The "corporations" are organized vertically for every major branch of French industry, but have separate categories ranging from apprentices, through journeymen, to the highest-paid technicians.

Workers are to be paid in proportion to their family responsibilities as well as to their skill. Thus, a married worker with children will receive higher wages than a single worker of equal ability.

The Berlin caption says this photo shows a Russian prisoner "dragging up his comrade who pretended to be dead" as Nazi soldiers look on. It's a dramatic picture even if it's faked.

Japan Denies Foray Into Siberia, But Dual Threat to Asia Remains

By Shannon McCune Fontenoy

Japan, the reluctant Axis dragon, gave off great quantities of smoke today—but no flame. And the Tokyo War Office made haste to deny there had been sparks on the Siberian border, that some 20 Nipponese soldiers had crossed the Russian frontier last week and attacked a patrol.

Reports from London, Chungking and Shanghai indicate the Japanese still are preparing for a move in either the north or the south, as opportunism may dictate.

A dispatch from Washington by Wilfrid Fleisher in this morning's *Herald Tribune* quoted "reliable sources" that the Tokyo Government had informed the U. S. A. that any accord resulting from the protracted negotiations between the two countries would have to be reached before November 15. That's the date on which the Japanese Parliament will meet in Tokyo to hear a report on the government's foreign policy.

Shanghai dispatches spoke of a sudden increase in Japanese tanker and ship movements off the coast. A cable to the United Press said some quarters there believed Japan might be planning to seize the northern half of Sakhalin Island, which belongs to Russia, basing their belief upon reports that Japan recently had reinforced its troops in Southern Sakhalin.

Northern Sakhalin produces petroleum and has valuable fisheries.

In London, where it was announced that urgent representations were being made to Tokyo regarding continued detention of two British subjects, the Russian report of a Siberian border clash was regarded by some observers that Japan was almost ready to aid her Axis partners.

Chungking had a different theory, a theory bolstered by reports that Japan was building a great airdrome in Indo-China within striking distance of the Burma Road.

The Chinese Nationalist military spokesman cited reports of large Japanese troop concentrations in Hunan Province and reinforced garrisons in the vicinity of Canton as evidence that Tokyo was planning a new offensive against China.

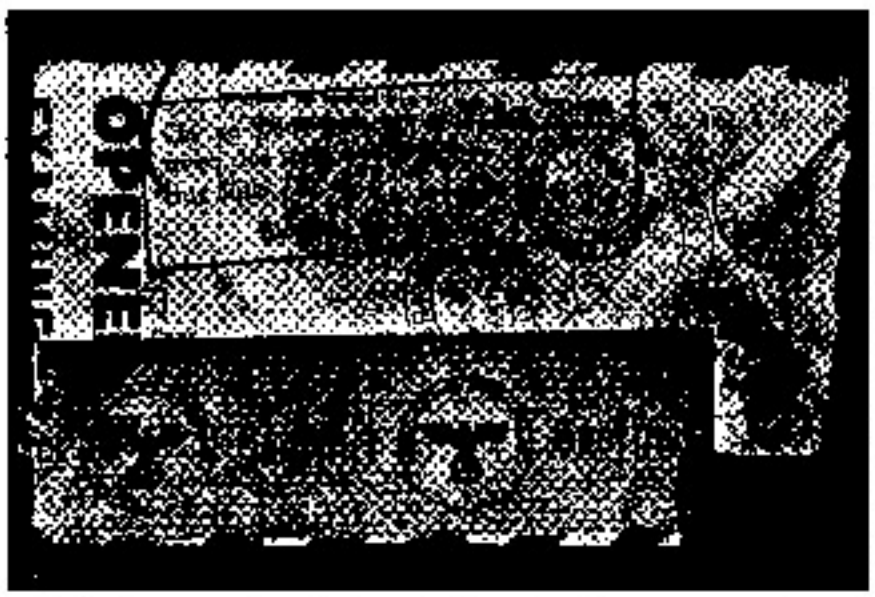
The former German merchantman Quito, reported to be a supply ship for South Seas raiders, arrived today in Shanghai, camouflaged, with its name painted out and manned by a German crew but flying the Japanese merchant and military flags.

Grand Mufti Escapes British, Reaches Rome

Fascist Rome went all-out today in a campaign to fan a Moslem holy war against Britain. Boasting that the arrival of the former Grand Mufti of Jerusalem in Rome foreshadowed significant development in the Near East, Italy hinted at plans to bring the Arabs of the world into the war on the side of the Axis.

Radio Bari, Italy's Arabian station, announced jubilantly:

"We've great news for you today. The Grand Mufti has again succeeded in escaping Britain's claws and reaching a friendly country. With the arrival of the Mufti, God once again has given his blessing to the cause of the Arab nations."



This letter was registered and mailed from the U. S. A. to a ghetto of Warsaw, in Nazi-held Poland. It was returned to the sender bearing the official stamp explaining that registered mail may not be sent to Jews. (See words indicated by arrow.) That's a violation of international postal regulations, of course, but a little thing like that doesn't worry the Germans.

Report on Russia

Why Hitler Can't Conquer Russia Now . . . Strategy: Retreat and Exact High Nazi Toll

Ingersoll Finds Army Morale High . . . Transportation System Working Smoothly Behind Battle Lines

Ralph Ingersoll, editor of PM, has just returned from a 30,000-mile trip to all the battle fronts in the war against Fascism. He is the first man to make such a trip and bring back an uncensored account of his findings. Yesterday he wrote about the siege of Moscow. Today he continues his report on Russia by answering questions on army morale, efficiency of Soviet aircraft and many other questions about the Russian Army never before answered in America.

Report on the Russian Army

By Ralph Ingersoll

The morale of the Soviet Army was still high when I left. I lived for six days and nights on the train with a continually changing succession of lightly wounded men and officers and aviators on leave. I found them, as I had found the other unwounded men and officers around Moscow, confident to the point of arrogance. Cocky as a good fighter must be. They respected only their opponents' equipment. They hated their enemy and they scorned him as an individual fighter.

As to the equipment of the Russian Army. If most of the things they have learned to build in the last 20 years—and before the Revolution they could not build a box of matches without the aid of foreign engineers—are shoddy and inferior, what they have built for their armies is the exception that proves the rule. The cannon I saw were beautifully machined. The light, automatic arms were rugged and obviously trustworthy in the field. Their best plane, while it is lightly armed by British standards, hats in the same league as the Hurricane and our Curtiss P-40. This imitation Hurricane—which is what it is—was being made in a factory on the outskirts of Moscow. British and American observers visited it for the first time while I was there. To a man they were astonished by what they saw. They could hardly believe their eyes, the quality of material and workmanship—and the organization—were so much better than anything else they had seen in Russia.

It is typical that the secrets of this plant had been kept successfully from even these professional men. The Germans saw this plant for the first time in January—even though they had been semi-Allies for many months. The Germans' look at this plant is believed by some to have precipitated the war. The Germans did not want to leave this plant in undisturbed production for another year.

"The cannon I saw were beautifully machined. . . .

"The light, automatic arms were rugged and obviously trustworthy. . . .

Plant Can Produce 15 Planes Daily

Its capacity was a minimum of six and a maximum of 15 planes a day—it is probable the output when I was there was around 10 planes a day. This is the only plant our observers have seen. The Soviets are supposed to have three more like it. I have reason to believe that it has been moved out of Moscow since I was there, because I myself witnessed the emigration of large amounts of industrial equipment to the east and the southeast.

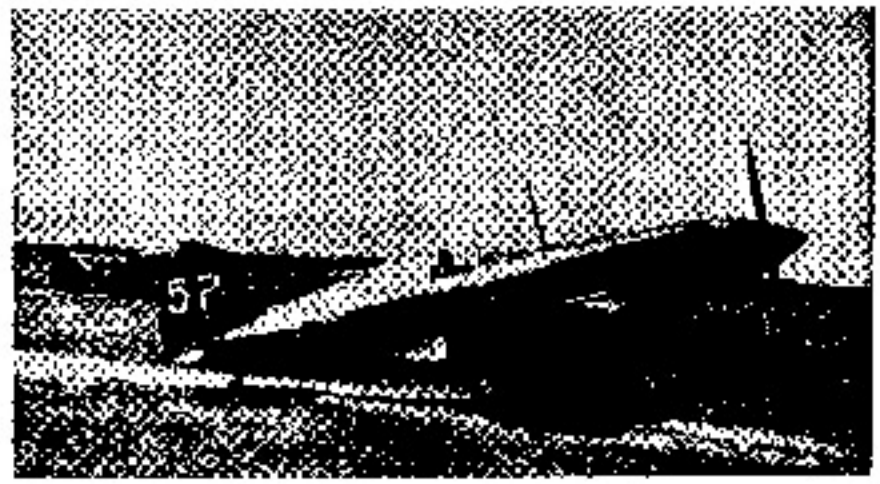
As to the organization of the Soviet Army—which in war time must be thought of as including the organization of transport behind the lines—I was amazed at how smoothly it was functioning. I say I was amazed, because of this circumstance: I am not a professional military observer. Before I went to Russia I sought competent counsel. Each professional I talked with advised me that the mistakes I would make in studying a battle in progress would be to overestimate the significance of the confusion. They pointed out that the best run battle looked chaotic to a layman—trucks broke down, supplies gave out, detachments arrived at the wrong place at the wrong time, men in charge were hungry and tired to exhaustion and looked it.

Yet, I found Soviet trains running faster and more efficiently when I came out 90 miles behind the front line than I had when I came in six weeks earlier from the east. I have inspected many, many Soviet motorized units. I found the rubber in their tires in good condition, their moving parts greased. I observed them moving smoothly and rapidly on the roads and saw them well dispersed, camouflaged in woods, when at rest. I can testify that the Soviet air force has not been knocked out of the war, for I saw a flight go up to meet German planes over Kharkov. Nowhere did I find a cluttered road—even driving, as I did, 80 miles down the Smolensk highway toward the front. I saw no refugee movement anywhere, not even in the Ukraine.

Industry Migrates to Safety

In other directions, away from the front, I saw the heavy migration of industry to safer districts—train after train after train, all though the day and all through the night, moving steadily south and southeast. On each train there was uprooted machinery piled on flat cars, with the engineers and the factory hands swinging their legs from the doors of box cars on the end of each train.

If any of you have any idea that the Russians are not planning to fight, all I can tell you is that for nine consecutive days, coming in to Moscow from the east, I passed training fields around which hazed 50 to 150 primary or secondary training planes in an intensity of preparation, surpassed only in Great Britain last year. For four or five of these nine days, at every station at which our train stopped, we took on new recruits. They were waiting at each station. At intervals our train unloaded the men it had picked



"Their best plane, while it is lightly armed by British standards, hats in the same league as the Hurricane and our Curtiss P-40." *Photos by Surfoto*

"I found them . . . confident to the point of arrogance. Cocky as a good fighter must be." *Photo by Soufoto*

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up at a training center. A thousand miles from Moscow I saw new troops drilling in town squares, running through mock combat in the suburbs. And in the country I watched antiaircraft batteries practicing on sleeve targets towed behind airplanes in the sky.

Against those things I have also heard scores of eyewitness tales from Russians who fought the Germans from the new border in Poland back across the old border and in retreat as far as Smolensk. The picture of German efficiency shown by their stories—in silhouette, as it were—is a picture those of you who have read William B. Shirer's description of the German Army's advance into France will recognize.

It was also borne painfully home to me that in the type of war now being waged there is an enormous premium on ending the battle in possession of the battlefield. The Northern armies defeated the Southern armies in the Battle of Gettysburg, even though they did not sweep them, to a man, from the field. In many individual engagements in the battle for Russia, Soviet troops decisively defeated German troops. Yet the battlefields on which they fought were lost. And with the loss of the battlefield went all the damaged equipment on both sides. Thus, whatever German and Russian tanks failed in their mission for want of gas fell unscarred into the possession of the Germans. And whatever tanks on either side were only partly damaged fell into the Germans' hands to be available for use again after a tread was mended, a cannon replaced, an armor plate welded.

In the air the Russians have not fared as badly. There is evidence that they are outnumbered, but three factors tend to nullify this disadvantage:

¶ The length of the front. The Germans would have to have 50,000 planes continuously in the air to patrol it completely. Any plane that will fly, no matter how antiquated, is useful to the defending command—for it can

MORE

(CONTINUED) Air Battles Fought at Low Altitudes

always find some place along the line to drop at least one bomb where it will hurt the Germans. It can escape before the Messerschmitts can be telephoned for.

¶ Violent, mechanized warfare calls for the use of the air arm down low, in support of troops. Most of the fighting in the air, on the Russian front, has been at low altitudes—a few hundred to at most a few thousand feet above ground. The Messerschmitt is a high altitude fighter. Its mechanical edge over its Soviet opponent is greatly reduced when it fights on what amounts to the other fellow's battlefield. Acrobatics does not require high speed; the most intricate aerial combat you may see—the snap rolls, the Immelmann turn, etc.—are executed at near stalling speed. In such combat, superchargers for the motor and oxygen tanks for the pilot are just so much excess weight.

¶ Third—and most important—that part of the Russian battlefield which is woods-covered (and that part extends south from the Arctic to several hundred miles below Moscow) makes control of the air a less insignificant factor. For when troops are in a wood (a) an airplane cannot see them and (b) even if it finds out where they are, it cannot do much to them. This is the secret of the Russians' escape from the hard driven encirclement traps in the early months of the war. The Germans took the roads at 60 to 80 miles an hour, and planes swept the sky over limited areas. But the Soviet armies were safe in the woods as long as they kept their nerve. They kept their nerve and fought their way out from wood to wood.

Put all these things together in an appraisal of the battle for Russia and you emerge with this conception:

The Russian Army is a good army—brave, well disciplined and still fairly well armed, able to keep itself supplied and intact provided it is willing to give way and never join final issue with a stronger, better equipped, better organized, much more experienced enemy.

General Staff Is Realistic

Russian General Staff strategy has been based on this realistic appraisal. **It has, since its lines were first overrun and it found itself unable to stem the tide head on, operated exclusively on a basis of never making a firm and final stand on any battlefield but rather placing a price on each town and each position, and concentrating its efforts on exacting this price of the Germans before retreating.** Thus, in the original capture of Smolensk, it is understood by competent foreign observers, the price set was 250,000 casualties—and this price was exacted.

The defense of major cities such as Odessa, Kiev, Leningrad and Moscow, in which armed civilian populations are involved, is another matter. The residents of Leningrad were asked, and chose, to make a fight of it. Although we who observed from the outside had given up Leningrad before I left Moscow, Leningrad is still in Russian hands because of the determination with which its citizens joined their army in its defense—and Odessa held out, completely surrounded, an unbelievable number of weeks.

On these considerations, I give you this opinion: there will be a Russian Army intact and under present management in the field a year from today. But no one can, at this time, make a sound judgment on where that line will be.

As the Russians fall back they are losing facilities for supply—factories, food and lines of communications. But this is importantly offset by the continually lengthening line of German communications which, however well it is organized, takes a toll in gasoline and oil and man power. The Germans cannot strike with as much force 1000 miles from their borders as they struck 100 miles from it. This is axiomatic.

Thrust in South Expensive

Therefore I believe that at some point on the retreat these forces will come into balance—the Russians will be manning a shorter, more easily defended line and the Germans will be attacking at the end of communications which exact their price in effort, 24 hours a day. Once again, where this line will be I do not believe any man can say.

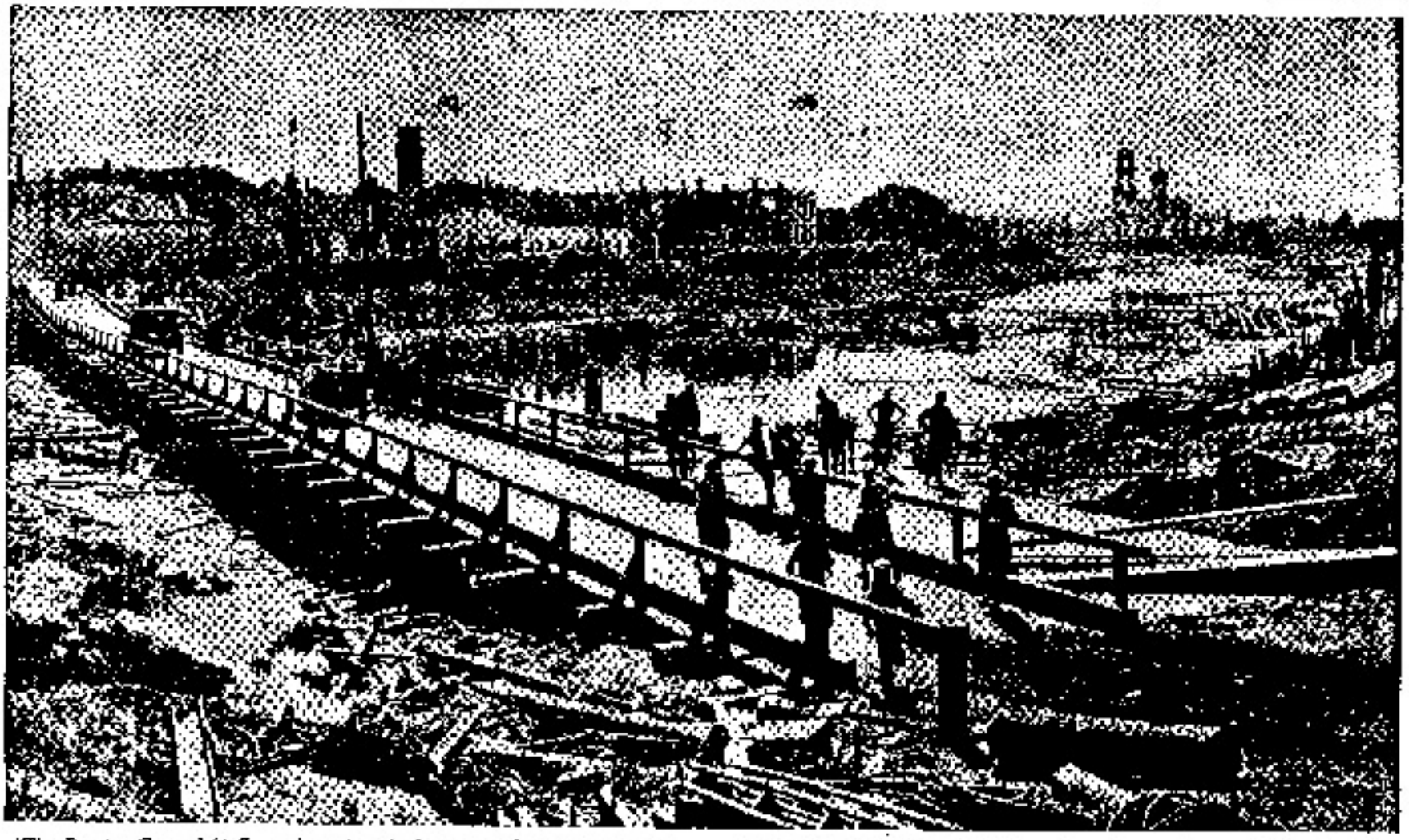
The most expensive German threat—from our side's point of view—is not the present thrust on Moscow but the thrust to the south. This is not only because the Russians have had time to move important industry and all the vital machinery of their Government from Moscow, but because in the Donets, in the south, lie the Russians' richest natural resources and beyond lies the oil supply from Baku beyond the Caucasus.

Moreover, as I have said, the battle for Moscow is being fought through more of the same woods that made the advance of Smolensk so expensive to the Germans. Whereas the field of the battle for the Ukraine—and the oil supply from Baku—is the kind of country a panzer division general must dream of. It is wide open and gently rolling. There are no natural obstacles except the rivers along which the Germans have a thousand choices of where to cross. The land sweeps to the horizon in all directions—treeless, fenceless, houseless except for here and there a dot which is a huddled village and the close-grouped buildings of a collective farm.

TOMORROW: Report on the Russian Army Continued.

How the scorched earth policy of the Russians has a factor? How accurate are Soviet communiques? How great are German losses?

"The battle for Moscow is being fought through more of the same woods that made the advance on Smolensk so expensive to the Germans . . .



"The Russian General Staff . . . has, since its lines were first overrun and it found itself unable to stem the tide head-on, operated exclusively on the basis of never making a firm and final stand on any battlefield but rather placing a price on each town and each position, and concentrating its efforts on exacting this price of the Germans before retreating." Germans paid the price for this city.

Photo by Black Star

". . . Whereas the field of the battle for the Ukraine . . . is the kind of country a panzer division general must dream of."

Photo by Roloff Beny, RMF

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U. S. Convicts Billion-Dollar Tobacco Trust

Jury Finds 'Big Three' Guilty on All Counts in Long Kentucky Trial

By Vorwa Tobias

Makers of Lucky Strikes, Camels and Chesterfields were found guilty last night on all counts of an indictment charging conspiracy to fix prices and monopolize the industry.

It took a two-year investigation and a trial lasting nearly five months to convict the trust that does a $1,000,000,000 a-year business.

The Government was represented by 25 lawyers, economists and investigators under Assistant Attorney General Edward H. Miller, who rented a three-story office building in Lexington, Ky., as headquarters for the duration of the trial.

The defendants, represented by 28 lawyers and investigators, were the R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Co., the Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co., the American Tobacco Co., two subsidiaries of the latter, and 19 executives. All of the defendants save one American Tobacco subsidiary and its officers were found guilty.

Others Affected, Too

Five other firms, indicted with the group, withdrew before the trial and agreed to accept "any penalties involved if a guilty decision results." They were the P. Lorillard Co. (Old Gilds), Philip Morris Co., Imperial Tobacco Co., Ltd., British-American Tobacco Co., Ltd., and the Universal Leaf Co., Inc.

The U. S. district court jury that returned the guilty verdict was made up of 11 small business men and a high school principal. They heard:

¶ The Government charge that "secret processes and intricate blending systems" of the cigaret makers were mere "subterfuges" and that it is "impossible to distinguish one brand from another by flavor."

¶ Kentucky's Commissioner of Agriculture testify that the companies' auction system deprives farmers of all bargaining power. Burley growers, he said, have been "forced" to take their product to market at specified times and "take whatever price was offered."

Big Profits Explained

"Price identity," the prosecutor said in his summation, "is the thing that keeps intact the $100,000,000 profit-melon these companies enjoy. The competition they engage in is better described as rivalry. No one breaks the rules of the game."

Government and defense attorneys were to confer with the court today on sentences. The maximum provided by law is a $5000 fine on each of four counts for each company and individual, and a year in prison for each individual. The defense already has indicated that it will appeal.

The next move of the Government may be to start civil actions to enjoin the convicted companies from the practices condemned by the jury. Thurman Arnold, Assistant Attorney General in charge of antitrust prosecutions, expressed elation over the verdict.

Dr. Royden Safe

Dr. A. Maude Royden, British preacher, turned up in New York yesterday after fears had been felt for her safety. She had left England three and a half weeks ago in a convoy, and failed to arrive for a lecture date. Dr. Royden said her ship was two days late getting into a Canadian port, and she couldn't get a telephone connection to New York.

S. Clay Williams (left), chairman of R. J. Reynolds, and George Washington Hill (right), president of American Tobacco, and 11 other tobacco trust bigwigs, including James W. Andrews, president of Liggett & Myers, were convicted last night of violating the Sherman anti-trust law by a Lexington, Ky., jury. *Photos by Wide World*

FDR's Move to Unite CCC, NYA Advances Federal Youth Work

By Andrew Dorsey

One of the thorniest problems in the federal-aid programs for young men and women was brought closer to solution yesterday by President Roosevelt's proposal to consolidate the Civilian Conservation Corps and the National Youth Administration. The President asked Federal Security Administrator Paul V. McNutt and Budget Director Harold Smith to work together to prepare the needed legislation. He indicated that he would send a message to Congress on the subject.

The CCC and the NYA now are units of the Federal Security Agency, but actual operation of CCC camps is conducted by the War Department. The proposed merger would unite all the administrative work of the two youth agencies under the FSA.

"In view of current world conditions," the President said, "I feel that the War Department should be relieved from all activities which may in any manner interfere with its main objective—national defense."

Two Pressure Sources

The merger was recommended two weeks ago by McNutt. Pressure for the consolidation has come from:

¶ Those seeking cuts in non-defense spending.

¶ Experts on youth problems, notably the American Youth Commission.

Recent reports that the CCC and NYA were competing with each other for recruits evoked a cease-and-desist order from McNutt to the directors of the two agencies.

National Defense

Since the war emergency, both the CCC and NYA have been gearing their programs to defense needs. Two main lines have been followed in realizing this goal: to prepare unemployed youngsters for industry through vocational training, and to build up their physical fitness for potential military service.

In a resolution urging the merger of the two agencies last May, the American Youth Commission stressed the need for inclusion of a program for preparing young people to tackle the problems of the post-war world.

The CCC maintains camps for jobless out-of-school youths 18 to 23. They are employed on socially useful projects, now turning increasingly toward preparation for defense work and military training. The NYA conducts training and health-building programs for young men and women from 16 to 24.

Both the CCC and the NYA have won high praise as representing democracy's answer to the Hitler Youth and similar Fascist outfits.

How Chiselers Beat Profit Tax

Rep. Gore Finds Big Firms Boost High Salaries

PM's Washington Bureau

Representative Albert Gore (D., Tenn.) presented to the House Committee on Banking and Currency today evidence of a general increase in the salaries of corporation officers which he contended was evidence that "the excess profits tax is getting the money."

Gore submitted his figures as the committee finally went into executive session to begin voting on the price control legislation which President Roosevelt asked for three months ago.

Gore cited a report from the SEC showing that the salaries of the chief officials of 21 corporations which end their fiscal years in June had increased 16 per cent in a year.

Most corporations close their books in December, so those included in the tabulation were chiefly small companies. But the figures showed a general upward tendency in the salaries of corporation officials.

The compensation of the highest paid officer in the W. H. Jarvis Co. (hardware and auto fittings) jumped from $17,540 to $88,000, the report showed, while the total compensation paid by the company to all officers increased from $67,705 to $162,825.

The Carpenter Steel Co. increased the salary of its highest paid officer from $87,350 to $101,500.

Gore submitted a comparison of salaries paid by a number of steel companies in 1940 compared with 1939, which also included many big increases. The biggest salary in Bethlehem-Steel, for instance, jumped from $271,000 to $478,000. Other big increases were: American Rolling Mill Co., $78,000 to $108,000; National Steel Corporation, $176,000 to $245,000.

'I wouldn't be able to tolerate my wife at all if she didn't drive me to this.'

Dickey

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Today in the U. S. A.

From the United Press Dispatches

PEOPLE: President Roosevelt has the Duke and Duchess of Windsor as luncheon guests today. Mrs. Roosevelt, unable to be present because of a lecture engagement tonight, was to entertain the Duchess for a while this morning before flying to Chicago. . . . Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, 45, author of The Yearling and other novels, is the bride of a Florida hotel man, Norton Sanford Baskin, 40, of St. Augustine. . . . Osmer W. Ewing, 53, one-time Democratic National Committeeman from Utah and now a Washington lawyer, has denied the charge of an 18-year-old federal employee that he broke into her room and raped her early Sunday. . . . Mae West was to file suit today for divorce from Frank Wallace, the vaudeville loafer to whom she was married in Milwaukee 30 years ago. . . . William Boyce, 60, U. S. Steel counsel, died at Pittsburgh.

Osmer Ewing

* * *

WASHINGTON ROUNDUP: Representative Joe Casey (D., Tenn.) has been elected Speaker pro tempore to preside during the absence of Speaker Sam Rayburn, who is at his Bonham, Texas, home. . . . The special House committee investigating commercial airline accidents has reported that the crash of an Eastern Airlines transport near Atlanta last Feb. 20, which killed eight, may have been caused by inaccurate setting of the plane's altimeter. . . . Representative Emanuel Celler (D., N. Y.) says he will offer a resolution this week to sever diplomatic relations with Germany.

* * *

NAVY DAY NOTES: Under Secretary of the Navy James V. Forrestal, speaking in Philadelphia, disclosed that the destroyer Kearny, torpedoed Oct. 17, was hit abreast of the boiler room on the starboard side. He said: "The resulting explosion not only opened up that side of the ship but blew out the deck overhead and part of the superstructure." . . . Secretary Frank Knox spoke in Detroit, and Adm. Harold R. Stark, Chief of Naval Operations, in Chicago. . . . Lt. Comdr. William A. Vanderbilt, retired naval reserve officer, gave his 204-foot yacht Alva, one of the most luxurious afloat, to the Navy for shore patrol duty.

* * *

DISASTER: The death toll in the crash of a bus near Clanton, Ala., Sunday night has risen to 16, with six still unidentified. . . . The tornado that struck three Arkansas towns killed 17 people.

* * *

DEFENSE DATA: Congress has sent to the White House for Presidential approval the $5,985,000,000 supplemental lend-lease bill. . . . A 35 per cent reduction in steel consumption by the domestic non-mechanical ice refrigerator industry until at least January has been ordered by Donald M. Nelson, OPM Priorities Director. . . . Ceiling prices "sharply below current levels" have been set by Leon Henderson, Price Control Administrator, for glycerine, industrial chemical especially needed to make high explosives. . . . The Army is arranging for 1,500,000 pounds of dressed turkey for Thanksgiving dinners.

Bandaged Feet are the only sign of Pamela Hollingworth's eight-day ordeal in New Hampshire mountains as she leaves a Lowell, Mass., hospital for home. She won't be able to walk for another two weeks.

Chicago Mother Changes Mind, Wants Her Babies Back

Mrs. Rose Palmer, 29-year-old Chicago mother who abandoned her four starving children last week so they could be fed in the county home, has changed her mind and wants them back. When she was found in a rooming house yesterday, the blonde deserted wife of a taxi driver said she hadn't found a job and had lost 20 pounds and now weighed 85. She was assured by friends attracted by her plight that they would find work for her so she could support her babies. But Juvenile Judge Frank Beck announced that the state would relinquish the responsibility it had assumed over the children only "upon a showing of good cause" why they were abandoned.

Pelley Out on Bail

William Dudley Pelley, the 51-year-old leader of the anti-Semitic Silver Shirts of America, has raised $10,000 bail to get himself out of jail in Asheville, N. C. He comes up for trial Dec. 15 on charges of having broken conditions of a 1935 suspended sentence imposed for violations of the state's securities laws. Last week the Supreme Court ordered him extradited to North Carolina from the District of Columbia.

Bioff Is Just Misunderstood ...Extort $550,000? Who? Me?

By Honorin Laurer

The story that Mister William Bioff told yesterday in federal court, where he and Mister George E. Browne are on trial for extortion, came straight from the collected works of Horatio Alger, Jr.

It was all there: pluck and luck, honest to the, Mister Bioff loved his mother, saved his money and rose from rags to riches. The only trick he missed was to marry the boss's daughter. But he became the boss's messenger boy, which is just as interesting, and somewhat more profitable.

Thrilling, ain't it? And, don't worry, there's more to come. Mister Bioff had only recounted the first 18 or 20 chapters of his life when court adjourned. He'll pick up where he left off when he resumes the stand today.

Like all successful characters, Mister Bioff is very misunderstood. U. S. Attorney Mathias F. Correa, for example, says that he and Mister Browne, who is president of the International Alliance of Theatrical Stage Employes, AFL, extorted $550,000 from certain parties not in Hollywood on threat of plagning them with strikes. And that sort of thing is frowned on by Uncle Sam.

It goes without saying, of course, that Correa has been misinformed, probably by Communists or single-taxers, who envy Mister Bioff his success. True, Mister Bioff collected some money, about $1,000,000 he explained yesterday. But not one red cent stuck to his fingers. It was all Nicholas M. Schenck's money. And he delivered the bills, every last one, to Nicholas's brother, Joseph M.

Here we'd better digress and tell you how Mister Bioff met the Schenck brothers. The story, as Mister Bioff told it yesterday, begins in Russia, where he was born, and travels swiftly to America, land of streets paved with gold, to which he came at the age of 5 or 6.

Mister Bioff's family settled in Chicago, and there he grew up, amidst poverty and evil characters. But aside from one transgression—which Mister Bioff neglected to mention on the stand yesterday—he remained pure and simple. The one transgression was, of course, Mister Bioff's excursion into the profession of pimping, for which he was arrested. (He didn't serve his sentence until many years later when Westbrook Pegler started bawling.)

But let's forget about that, as Mister Bioff did. It seems that even in his youth the labor movement fascinated him. Naturally, he became an organizer. This work brought him into contact with Mister Browne during the depression, and, since the labor movement also fascinated Mister Browne, they decided to work together.

Their best act was to set up soup kitchens for the unemployed. Food and labor were donated by restaurateurs and labor unions.

Then in 1934 Mister Browne was elected president of the IATSE. In that job he naturally met several movie executives, including Charles Moskowitz, to whom he introduced Mister Bioff. Moskowitz, in turn, introduced Mister Bioff to Nicholas Schenck.

Mister Bioff and Schenck became very chummy, Mister Bioff said; they visited together and talked over their family and social and business affairs.

The movie business was in bad shape, Mister Bioff added. Unpleasant legislation were introducing unpleasant legislation, and it was necessary, he said, to buy them off. Naturally, he went on, this couldn't be done by check; nor could the payments be shown on the books. So Nicholas Schenck asked his dear friend Mister Bioff to help, said Mister Bioff.

Schenck asked him, Mister Bioff continued, not only to make the rounds of movie executives for their contributions to the legislative fund, but to deliver the contributions to brother Joe Schenck.

It was Joseph M. Schenck, Mister Bioff testified, who made the pay-offs.

And that, so help Mister Bioff, is what really happened.

17 Workers Killed In Mine Accidents

Seventeen Kentucky coal miners were killed in accidents yesterday, 15 at the Daniel Boone mine in Nortonville, two at the North Diamond mine in Earlington.

The Nortonville miners were killed when an explosion blasted the mine shortly after they had started work at 7 o'clock. A rescue squad, crawling and choking its way through deadly gas into the winding tunnels of the mine, did not find their bodies until more than 12 hours later.

Thirty-three of their fellow miners had been pulled to safety earlier. But the 15 had penetrated farther into the mine; apparently they had been asphyxiated before they could reach the main air shaft.

The causes of the explosion could not immediately be discovered.

One of the rescued miners, Elbert Rayney, described his experience:

"We were working about half a mile from the entrance when he heard a muffled explosion and a strong gust of wind rushed up the tunnel. It was so strong that it blew the harness from our mules and knocked us to the floor.

"The lights went out and we stayed on the floor to get as much good air as possible. Then we started working our way to the air shaft, most of the time crawling on our hands and knees.

"About a third of the way we ran into black damp and some of the men passed out and we had to carry them to the entrance. We waited about two hours before the first man was pulled up in a bucket."

Fourteen of the 15 dead miners were married. One of them, Ike Whitfield, had entered the mine for the first time since being laid off last March.

Jury Not Completed For Sedition Trial

Selection of the jury will continue today in the sedition trial in Minneapolis of 28 Trotskyists charged with plotting to overthrow the U. S. Government.

As the trial opened yesterday Albert Goldman, defense counsel, who is also a defendant, insisted that Judge Matthew M. Joyce ask prospective jurors if they would be prejudiced by the defendants' opposition to U. S. entry into the war.

Judge Joyce also asked the jurors if they had any fixed opinions on the merits of the jurisdictional warfare between the AFL and CIO. Fifteen defendants were involved in a bitter struggle with the AFL General Drivers' Union for organization of Minneapolis truck drivers when the indictments were returned.

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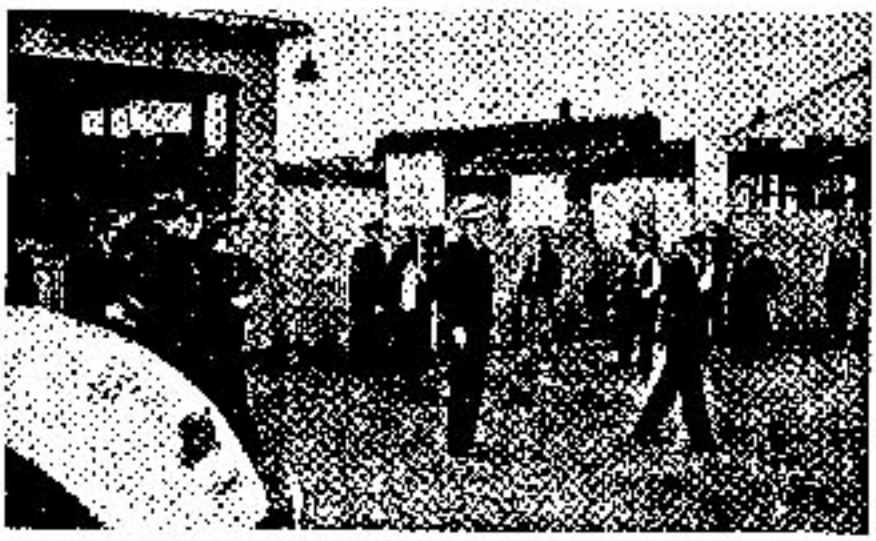
Robins Strike Climaxes Long Battle for Wage Boosts at Yard

Joseph Burge, CIO regional director, and Sidney Bernland, local strike leader.



In the 1937 strike at the Robins plant there were fierce battles between strikers and police, leading to a citizens' probe of police conduct. Yesterday pickets paraded peacefully in a drizzle

PM Photos by Irving Haberman

As the walkout began, these Robins strikers watched anxiously to see if strikebreakers would appear. They didn't

Union Shop Not Issue Strike Leaders Declare

Most of the men on strike today at the Robins Drydock and Repair Co. grew up in tough, tough Red Hook, next door to the company yards. They didn't go to Harvard and they write picket signs in the bathroom school of literature. To many of them this walkout is the climax of a half-century labor battle at Robins—a battle filled with legends of union defeats and head-crackings and alley fights.

As the 550 strikers got word today that the National Defense Mediation Board would hold hearings soon, they did not discuss any lofty labor matters like the union shop. As translated in Red Hook, the issue in this clash is simple. It is dough. It is whether snaring defense profits mean dividends for the boys in the yards.

For a good many years Robins workers have charged that their wages run way below those prevailing in the Port of New York. But their strike was broken in 1937, they had lost in 1939. They had been beaten many times before that. Robins preached paternalism, dread unionism, fought with the NLRB.

Huge Defense Profits

Last Christmas-time the CIO's Industrial Union of Marine and Shipbuilding Workers dug in and stayed through the winter. It thumped hard on the theme of defense profits—Robins is a subsidiary of Todd Shipyards (gross profits for year ended March, 1941 $40,707,639, compared with $17,428,080 the year before). Last July the CIO won an NLRB election at the open-shop Robins stronghold.

The company sat down to negotiate its first labor contract—other Todd yards had done so before—and it looked pretty peaceful. Joseph Burge, skilled, self-spoken regional director of the union, said yesterday that Robins agreed to bring its wages into line with those of other yards.

Nearly 3000 unskilled workers at Robins, he says, were averaging 68 cents an hour; the general rate in the port is 78 cents. Total wage advances sought by the union amounted to $10,000 a week. The company seemed amenable. But when it drafted a proposed contract, Burge asserts, some important points were left out.

The CIO agreed to mediate these issues, among them the union shop, if the company would either put into effect wage increases which were accepted or set a retroactive date for the wage boosts. But no increases were forthcoming and no date was set. Negotiations dragged, the Robins workers grew restive. Yesterday they struck.

Money Only Issue

While company spokesmen said that "the closed shop is the only issue," Burge vigorously disputed the assertion. He contended that the wage controversy alone motivated the strike. He also said that the union welcomed the intervention of the mediation board.

Besides low minimums for unskilled workers, the CIO has denounced what it calls the "phony classification system"; it says that many workers who should be rated as mechanics are put in lower designations so that their wages will be kept down.

"The only issue here is that the fellows kept hearing about wage increases, but their pay envelops didn't get any thicker," Burge said.

And, unlike previous Robins strikes, the [illegible] yesterday was tranquil.

FDR Puts Both Lewis and Steel Companies on Spot

Government Officials Privately Admit UMW Leader Has Good Case . . . He's Eager for Showdown

By I. F. Stone
PM's Washington Bureau

WASHINGTON, Oct. 28.—The nation's steel companies, as well as John L. Lewis, were on the spot today in the strike of the captive soft-coal mines.

FDR, in a radio address last night, after a third unsuccessful appeal to Lewis, warned against "selfish obstruction" of the defense program by stubborn minorities of either capital or labor.

As though to underscore the applicability of the warning to both sides, William H. Davis, chairman of the National Defense Mediation Board, sent telegrams to the steel companies involved. The telegrams were a reminder that none of the companies had made any answer to the recommendations released by the board last Friday in the coal dispute. Davis asked the companies whether they would accept the proposals for negotiation and arbitration rejected by Lewis.

Lewis himself at his press conference yesterday succeeded skillfully in shifting the spotlight to 71 Broadway, where the directors of the U. S. Steel Corp. meet today.

The question put to the board of directors by Lewis's press conference is not easily evaded:

"Why can't U. S. Steel in the operation of its captive coal mines abide by the Appalachian agreement accepted by the rest of the bituminous coal industry?"

Lewis's Case Strong

On this single issue of the union shop, isolated from broader considerations of defense, there was general agreement—off the record—among most officials in Washington that Lewis had a strong case. On the record were the findings of the NDMB's own three-man panel of William H. Davis, Walter C. Teagle and Hugh Lyons:

¶ ". . . . The union-shop provision has been accepted by substantially all of the commercial operators and by some of the operators of captive mines, including some of the steel companies, so that substantially 90 per cent of the total annual production of bituminous coal is under union-shop contracts."

¶ "The figures submitted to us by the (steel) companies on the basis of their voluntary check-off cards show that a very large majority of the [captive] mine workers, exceeding 95 per cent in many of the mines, now belong to the union."

The NDMB panel split 2 to 1 on its recommendations, Davis and Teagle suggesting that the question be submitted to arbitration while Lyons, New England Regional Director of the CIO thought the steel companies ought to be made to sign the Appalachian agreement without change.

Afraid of Showdown

There are several reasons why the NDMB did not recommend the union shop. One is that, like the War Labor Board, it would like to preserve the status quo in industry.

Another reason the NDMB did not recommend the union shop is that it is afraid of a showdown with the steel companies, which are in a fighting mood. "It is one thing to take over U. S. Steel's Federal Shipbuilding Yard in Kearny," one official said, "and quite another to be faced with the prospect of being challenged to take over the nation's captive mines or its steel industry."

The NDMB feared that, as in the case of the Kearny strike, where U. S. Steel refused to accept a maintenance of membership agreement, the steel companies would again defy its decision and leave the Administration to back down or lose the union which would accompany any attempt to commandeer the soft coal mines on an issue like the union shop.

The NDMB offered arbitration instead. In that case both sides would have pledged themselves voluntarily to abide by the decision, and the problem of forcing a ruling on one side or the other would not have arisen. It was felt that in arbitration the UMW probably would win, for the facts in the case are strongly on its side. But a victory in arbitration might not suit Lewis's purposes and it would strengthen the NDMB, which he has always fought.

The point of view represented by Lewis on defense has few adherents left in the CIO and he faced the prospect of greatly diminished influence and prestige at the coming CIO convention. With little to lose, his power in the CIO slipping from him, Lewis was in a mood to take risks at the expense of the labor movement. The steel companies obtain 78 per cent of their coal from their own captive mines. Should they attempt to obtain coal elsewhere, Lewis could call out the rest of the miners in a sympathy strike. (Meanwhile, Ben Fairless, president of the U. S. Steel, said production of steel in Pittsburgh and Youngstown districts would be cut about 10 per cent today because the mills depend on a steady flow of coal from their mines.)

In the event of such a strike, the campaign already begun in Congress for revival of anti-strike and restrictive legislation would be enormously aided, but while this might endanger the labor movement, it would strengthen Lewis's position. Labor forces would be compelled to close ranks behind him, whether or not they wanted to, to protect the miners and to fight repressive legislation.

The problem before the President is to act vigorously enough against Lewis to quiet some of the demand in Congress for anti-labor legislation while acting strongly enough against the steel companies to deprive Lewis of a first-rate issue.

There was some speculation that FDR might seek to bloket the controversy in a call for a joint labor-capital conference to work out a Labor policy "for the duration."

Lewis in his reply yesterday to the President said there was as "yet no question of patriotism or national security involved in this dispute."

"If you would use the power of the state to restrain me, as an agent of labor," Lewis wrote, "then, sir, I submit that you should use that same power to restrain my adversary in this issue, who is an agent of capital. My adversary is a rich man named Morgan, who lives in New York."

Perhaps the most effective part of Lewis's letter was its assertion that the President knew Lewis had twice tried unsuccessfully by telephone last Saturday to arrange a conference with Myron C. Taylor for Sunday "so that the mines could work Monday."

The United Press reported this morning that FDR is considering new and drastic legislation to control strikes in defense industries.

John L. Lewis reading his reply to FDR's second request that he order the 53,000 striking captive soft-coal miners back to work. Photo by Wide World

Hill Breaks Agreement With NDMB And Trouble Flares Anew at Bendix

By James A. Wechsler

The strange case of F. Le Roy Hill, president of Air Associates, Inc., today again challenged U. S. labor and defense officials who had thought last Friday that he was finally ready to live in industrial peace and quiet.

Hill, who took a public spanking from New Jersey's Governor Charles Edison for his "inept" labor policy, precipitated a new upheaval yesterday at his Bendix, N. J., plant. He broke the agreement which the National Defense Mediation Board had laboriously fashioned to end the 34-day CIO strike at Air Associates. It was the third time Hill had ignored U. S. mediation terms, but so far there have been no cautions in Congress deploring his defiance of the defense program.

According to the NDMB announcement, Hill consented last Friday to reinstate the strikers as a basis for settling the dispute. The pickets were withdrawn from the plant. For nearly 48 hours Air Associates was enveloped in unique industrial amity. The plant reopened, operated by non-strikers. Yesterday the strikers tried to get their jobs back. They failed.

The Company Reneges

Upon arrival at the plant they were told they were being put on the pay roll—and please to go home until further notice.

The strikers didn't interpret the gesture as charity; they wanted their jobs back as the agreement had stipulated. They refused to sign a statement which in effect accepted the company's terms. They just went home.

So leaders of the New Jersey CIO stayed in session until late last night planning their next move in the long, bitter battle with F. Le Roy Hill.

In accusing Hill of again violating his pact with the U. S. A. and the union, CIO officials pointed out that the company yesterday proposed putting the strikers on the payroll for a 40-hour-week wage, although the plant has been operating on 54- and 60-hour weeks. They also declared that barring the strikers' return to work would impair their seniority rights because they must reapply for new employment.

Finally they contended that Hill's newest ploy was designed to demoralize the strikers and compel them to look for other employment, thus shattering the union's strength at the plant.

Before making another move, CIO leaders today were apparently awaiting indication from Washington as to what measures the Government was contemplating to deal with Hill's latest outbreak. Sympathy demonstrations by other unions in New Jersey have been blocked. It is understood that War Department officials conferred on the case last night.

There have been reports that the U. S. A. may withhold defense contracts from Hill's firm, but CIO spokesmen are believed pressing for seizure of the plant. They feel that withdrawal of the defense work would punish the workers for the management's acts.

In scuttling the NDMB agreement, Hill added a new chapter to a long record of warfare with every state and federal labor agency. He has been condemned by the Mediation Board, the NLRB and the New Jersey Mediation Board, as well as Governor Edison.

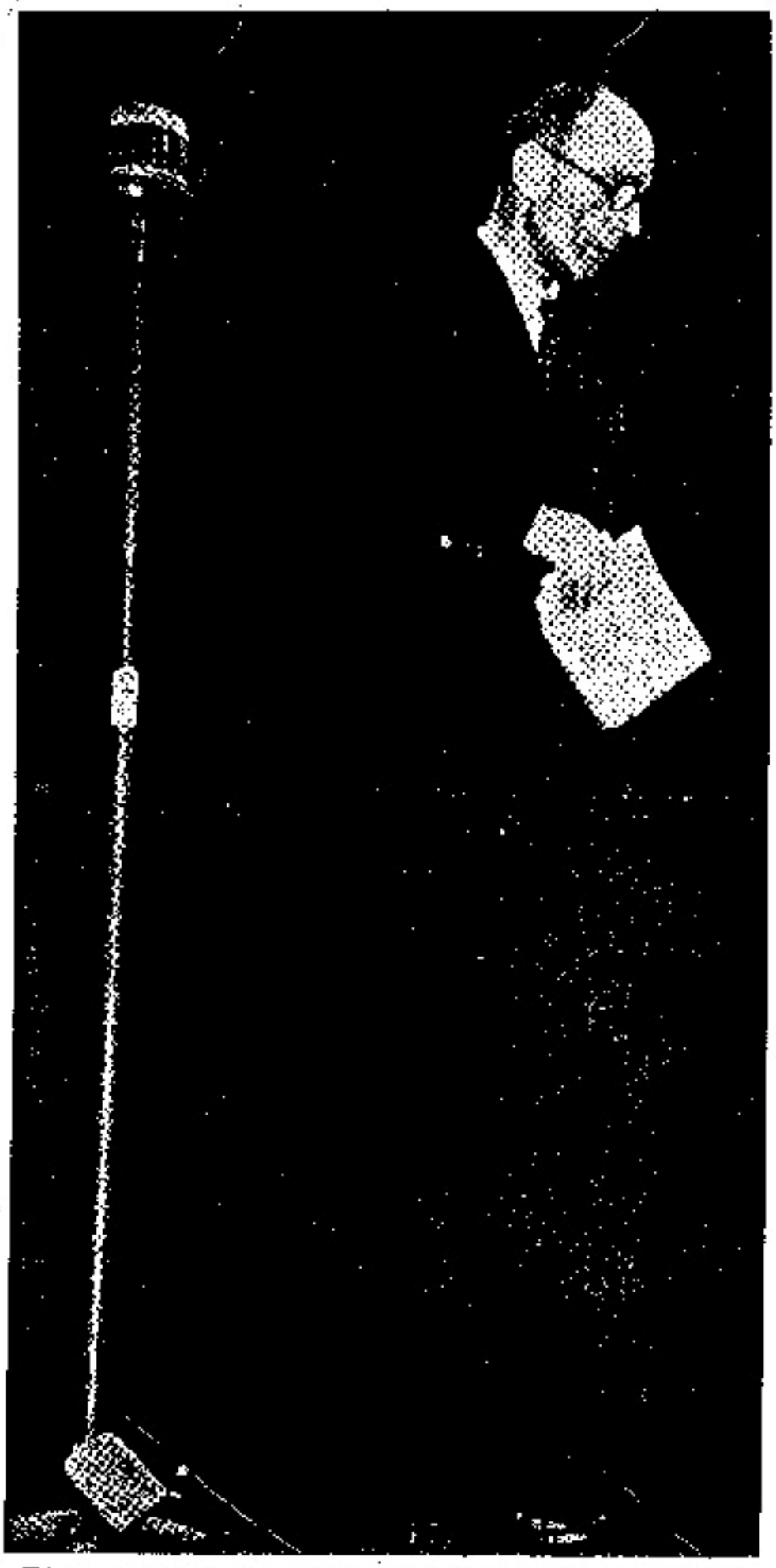
La Guardia Urges Realistic Peace

Mayor La Guardia wants the statesmen who make the peace to figure in terms, not of frames and fire and marks, but of "rutabagas, spaghetti, goulash and beefsteak."

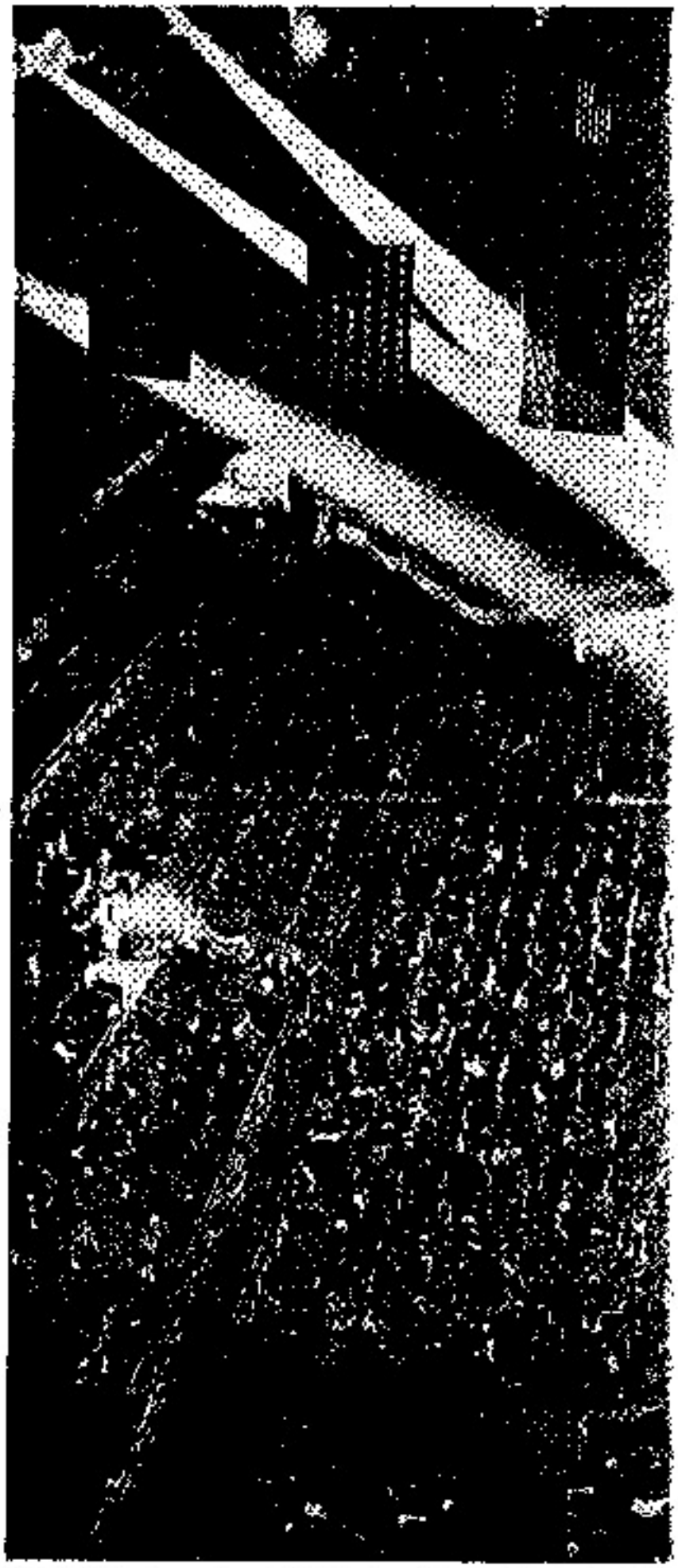
Unless they provide "economic security for all the people of all the countries," he said yesterday, they will merely set the stage for another world conflagration.

The Mayor spoke at the opening session of the International Labor Office conference, the first since the invasion of Poland, which is being held at Columbia University. Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins was chosen president of the conference.

Crowd Heckles Lord Halifax at Russian Relief Rally . . .



This picture of the imperturbable Lord Halifax was taken as he left the speakers' stand at the Russian War Relief rally in Madison Square Garden last night, after being noisily heckled with shouts—"Open up the Western Front!" The only speaker to be interrupted, he wasn't fazed.



As this picture shows, the rally for Russian relief packed the Garden. Gifts received before and during the meeting totaled $175,000 · about $25,000 of that being collected from the floor. One woman sent up her gold wedding ring. The German-American Club gave $52. Checks from wealthy Ameri-

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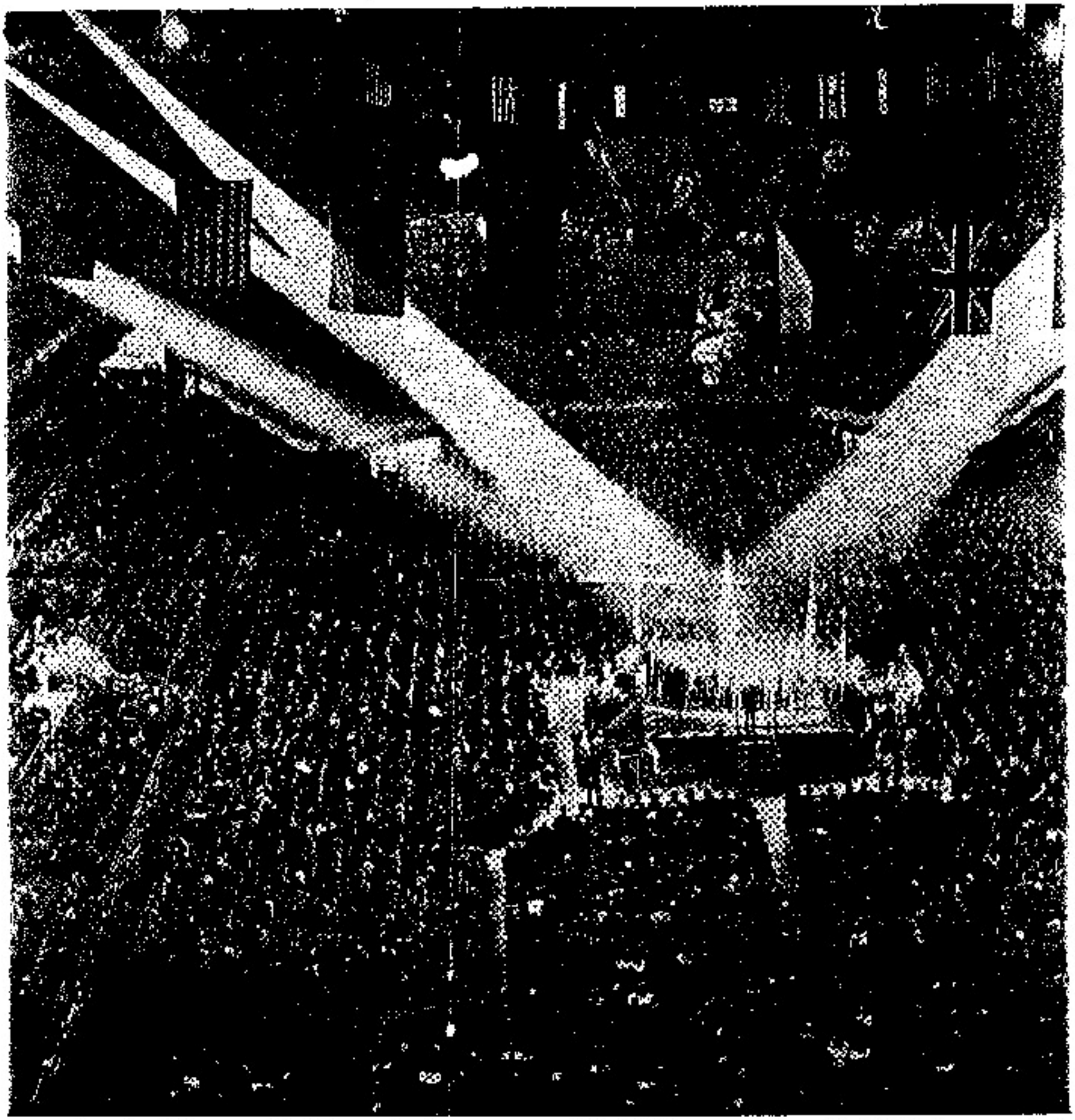

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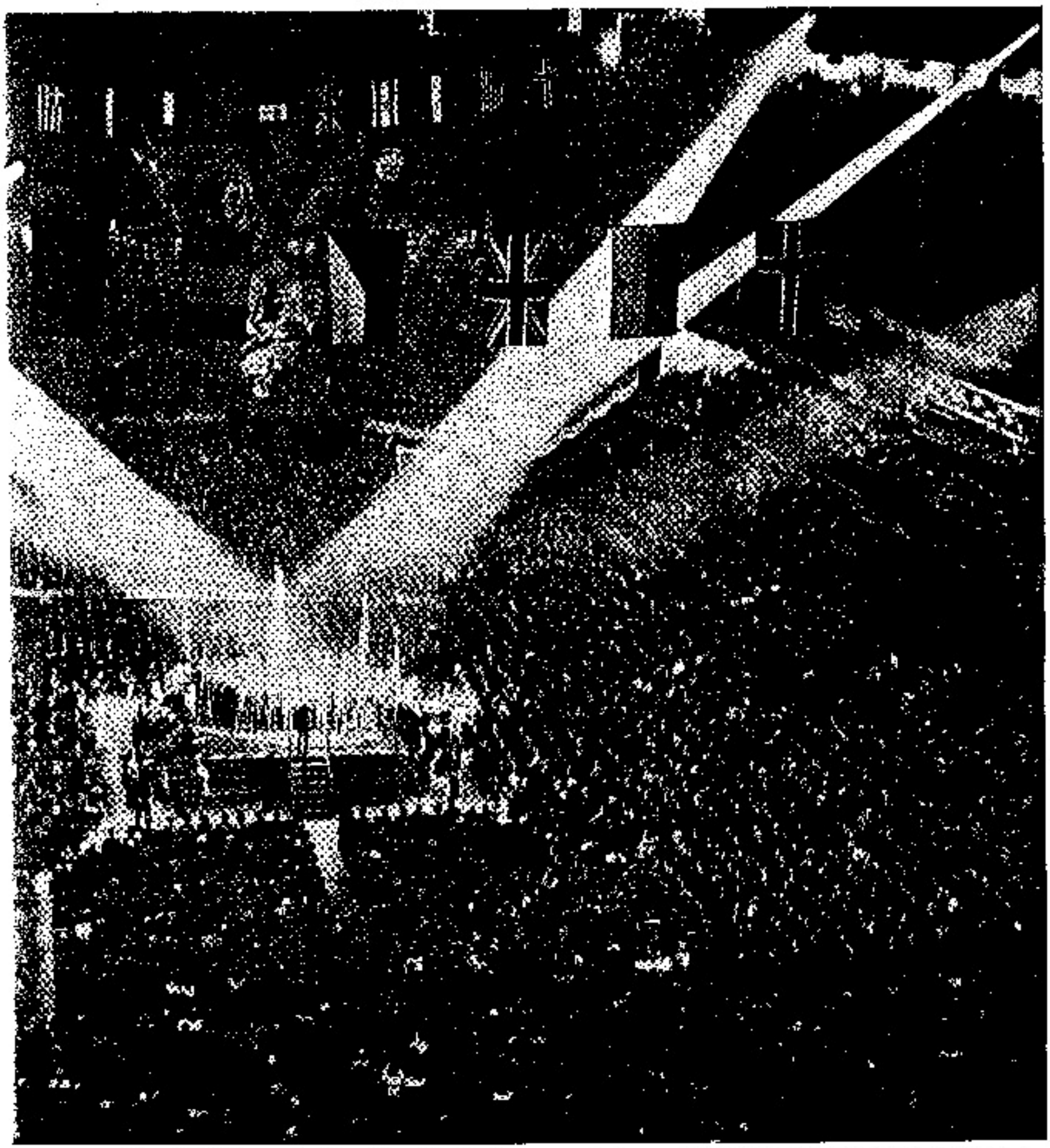
. . . Yells of 'Open Up the Western Front!' Greet Ambassador



tions run as high as $25,000. The money is to be used for relief of Russian civilians and for medical supplies. The program made allowance for President Roosevelt's Navy Day speech, which went to the crowd over the loudspeaker system. Halifax, heckled though he was, came as close as any speaker to expressing the sentiments of the crowd. "We have not all seen eye to eye with Russia in the past," he hollered. But then—"Henceforth we march side by side." So he got cheers.

Photos by Ray Platnick and Steve Deroy, PM

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Praises LaGuardia With Faint Damns

Lehman Comes Out for O'Dwyer . . . But Not Far

By William P. Vocke, Jr.

Governor Herbert H. Lehman made the speech for William O'Dwyer last night which Democratic managers have devoutly hoped would offset President Roosevelt's indorsement of Mayor La Guardia.

But although the Governor said O'Dwyer is "fitted" to be Mayor, he handled Mayor F. H. La Guardia with kid gloves. At one point in his speech, praise of La Guardia was applauded by the 3500 Democratic partisans who packed Hunts Point Palace, the Bronx.

The Governor said it was his belief that La Guardia would quit one of his two jobs.

"He knows, and has long known," the Governor said, "my very definite views. This question is not whether Mayor La Guardia is willing to work hard. It is not a question of his patriotism. No one can doubt that Mayor La Guardia is a hard worker and a patriotic man. (*Here came the applause.*) But it is also an indisputable fact that because of his acceptance of the position of United States Director of Civilian Defense, the problems of New York City can no longer be his paramount concern and that his time must necessarily be divided between the two jobs.

Honest and Forthright

"As a Democrat and head of the party in my state, I am happy," he went on, "to support Judge O'Dwyer, whom I regard as an honest and forthright man with high principles—a man who I am confident will conduct the office of mayor solely in the interests of the people and with credit to himself and his party."

Meanwhile Mayor La Guardia put in his busiest day yet: 19 speeches in 13 hours. He poked fun at the charge he is a "part-time" mayor, pointing out that Robert Moses, a public servant whom all parties like, now holds at least five jobs. He also said that when the President wants "expert help and experience and loyalty to the country" he turns to La Guardia's administration and "not to Ed Flynn."

In a long, rambling harangue, the Democrats still tried in vain to prove that La Guardia's friends were spending more than $1,000,000 for his re-election. All they succeeded in doing was to jack the total up to $237,135, representing the expenses of the 10 major groups working for the Mayor's victory. Robert Dunn, the Democrats' man of law, said he would present full proof of the accusation, even if the Mayor wouldn't, by Friday, or at the latest by Monday—the day before election.

Ran Under Fire

Tammany Hall suffered a blow yesterday when its prize candidate, Paul P. Rao, for justice of the Supreme Court, was attacked as a pro-Fascist and a lawyer who has served for pro-Fascist and pro-Nazi organizations. The Association of the Bar of the City of New York was the latest organization to declare him unfit to serve on the bench. The New York County Lawyers Association and the National Lawyers' Guild previously had taken the same stand.

Records in the County Clerk's office, New York County, show that Rao's firm, Rao, Tiggle and Cantello, drew up the incorporation papers of the A. V. Publishing Corp., which puts out the anti-Semitic *Deutscher Weckruf* and *Beobachter*. The firm also helped to incorporate the German-American Front, Inc.

Chinese Child Is Model for the liquid rubber dolls her mother, Mrs. Sui-Gueen Dai, makes to display at the Women's Exposition of Arts and Industries at the Grand Central Palace. The daughter, Mayling, is with Mrs. Lin Yutang.

Cop and Gunman Duel in Hotel

Guest and Suspect Shot in Chase in Abbey, Victoria

Cops and quarry raced through the one-time Hotels Abbey and Victoria today, shooting as they went. Shot and dying are one of the quarry and an innocent guest. Under arrest are two men.

At 2 a.m. Detectives Robert Bowe and Edward McCowan prowled Times Square seeking suspects in the year-old Brooklyn murder of Patrolman Leon J. Fox. They picked up Samuel Kubzer, 23, found a key to room 945 of the Hotel Abbey, on 51st at Seventh Avenue, took him there and waited in the dark.

Two hours later two men came to the door. When the detectives called, the men separated and fled. McCowan seized one Samuel Kublinsky, 23. Bowe pursued the other into the Victoria, which used to be part of the Abbey until a stockholders' dispute divided the place into two hotels.

The fugitive and Bowe doubled in the dark. After the detective's first shot, the fugitive fired a volley and fled. Bowe reloaded.

The chase went up stairs. On the 22nd floor the fugitive encountered William Ortman, a guest. Police said the fugitive shot Ortman in the chest, ran up to a banquet room on the 23rd floor and blew a hole in his own temple.

Both men were taken to Roosevelt Hospital, where the fugitive was identified as Abe Beitler, 23. Ortman, an agent, is the husband of Ise Marvenga, a dancer.

During the excitement, Times Square patrolmen closed 51st Street and the hotels' exits.

Sues Over Lyons's Book

Corliss Lamont, literary son of banker Thomas W. Lamont, today has no file in Supreme Court a $100,000 suit against the Bobbs-Merrill Co. Lamont lists 10 passages in Eugene Lyons's *The Red Decade* which he says damage and libel him. He says these passages wrongfully convey the impression he was head of an organization disloyal to the U. S. A.

Nazis Cramped Ford Business

Proving Again Americans Can't Do Business With Hitler

The shabby theory that "we can do business with Hitler" is getting another puncture at the federal trial of 15 men accused of spying for Germany.

Details of the treatment American business men were getting from the Germans even back in the "friendly" 1930s came to light during the examination of Edmund Carl Heine, a defendant.

Heine was formerly managing director of the Ford company in Germany, at $30,000 a year.

"The German Association for the Automobile Industry didn't like us," he said. "We couldn't sell to the army or the post office. They would put pasters on the windshields to show that the owners of our cars were 'unpatriotic.' I was denounced in 1934 by the German automobile industry, which accused me of having left Germany in 1914 as a deserter, and of being too pronounced an American to be the head of a German organization.

"I was called back to Detroit at that time and we discussed the situation. I was asked to revert to German citizenship because they thought it would help business. I refused, although it would have meant a sizeable increase in salary."

Heine returned to Germany then, but later gave up his Ford job, he said. When war drew near he decided to come home, but before leaving for the U. S. A. he was approached by executives of the German company organized to build the heavily-publicized Volkswagen, he said. First they offered him a job as American representative, and then gave him a list of questions covering the development of Diesel engines, and many phases of U. S. aviation. The Germans told him to turn his material over to general agents who worked with members of the alleged spy ring, he said.

Mr. Rat Tells About Murder

Informer Fumbles Name of Man He Talked With 300 Times

Shulem Bernstein, the state's star witness, took the stand in the Lepke murder trial yesterday and told a smooth story of how he drove the getaway car after the slaying of Joseph Rosen, Brownsville candy store proprietor, five years ago.

Bernstein, self styled stoolpigeon and rat, said that Louis Capone ordered him to drive and that Mendy Weiss was one of the killers. Weiss and Capone, along with Louis (Lepke) Buchalter, are charged with the murder.

Settled comfortably in his chair, his long, dark face utterly relaxed, Bernstein told his story under the questions by Burton Turkus, Assistant DA.

Then came the cross-examination. When Bernstein was asked why he had waited until now to tell what he knew of the crime, his shifty eyes squinted hard, his mouth twisted in a snarl.

Now Are You Happy?

"Because I'm a stool pigeon," he grated. "In other words, a rat. Does that satisfy you, sir?"

Bernstein said he was a gambler, bookmaker and shylock by his own admission and a thief when he "got orders from the mob." He also admitted that he hadn't told the truth when he testified at the Big Greasy Queen trial in Monticello because he didn't want to give information on the mob.

"They weren't picked up yet," he explained.

For more than a year Bernstein and Abe Reles have been closely guarded at Coney Island's Half Moon Hotel, where, Bernstein says, they talked about football and baseball.

"How often?"

Forgetting a Mouse

"Very seldom I talked to that mouse," Bernstein, the rat, snarled. Later he said this was "about 300 to 370 times."

Shortly afterward he was asked whether he knew a man named Sandy Reles.

Bernstein said he didn't, then exclaimed: "Wait a minute! I've heard that name, Reles."

Alfred J. Talley, who was cross examining as chief counsel to Weiss, gasped:

"You've just said you spoke to Reles more than 300 times, and now you say you've heard that name?"

"I'll never forget it," Bernstein assured him.

State Comptroller Election Called Off

The Court of Appeals, in a 4-to-3 decision, ruled yesterday that there can be no election for State Comptroller on Nov. 4 because of a technicality in the election law.

This means that Joseph V. O'Leary, American Labor Party member, who was appointed by Governor Lehman to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Comptroller Morris S. Tremaine, probably will serve until the regular election next year.

It also means that Frank C. Moore, Republican candidate, who was campaigning in Syracuse last night, won't have to campaign any more.

This Is PM . . .

We are against people who push other people around, whether they flourish in this country or abroad.

We are against fraud and deceit and greed and cruelty and we will seek to expose their practitioners.

We are for people who are kindly and courageous and honest.

We respect intelligence, sound accomplishment, open-mindedness, religious tolerance.

We do not believe all mankind's problems are now being solved successfully by any existing social order, certainly not our own, and we propose to crusade for those who seek constructively to improve the way men live together.

We are Americans and we prefer democracy to any other principle of government.

(From the original Prospectus of PM.)

Letters To and From the Editor

If You Tell a Lie Big Enough . . .

Dear Editor:

My father used to tell an Old World story about a peasant woman who had borrowed an earthenware pot from a neighbor and was afterward accused of having damaged it. She indignantly denied the charge and brought in witnesses who swore:

¶ That the pot had been cracked when she borrowed it.

¶ That it was whole when she returned it.

¶ That she had never borrowed the pot nor had it in her possession.

So far as I can understand it, the present position of the America First Committee is something like this:

¶ There is no harm in Hitler, but we hate him quite as much as you do.

¶ The successive steps providing for national defense and increasing aid to Britain are all parts of a wicked stratagem to edge a reluctant nation into an unnecessary war; but these measures have our loyal support.

¶ All our contributions and financial backers are above reproach, but they do not like to have their names made public.

¶ Anti-Semitism is most deplorable, but the damned Jews had better watch their step.

New York. E. O. Bassmann.

The Moylan Sisters' Dog's Diet

Dear Editor:

Pictured in PM for October 13 are the two singing Moylan sisters who each Sunday afternoon conclude their radio program by saying, "We feed our doggy Thrive. Do you?"

If these little girls really expect an answer to their question, all obliging listeners should truthfully respond: "No, we do not feed your doggy Thrive."

Mendelville, Pa. Frank M. Walling

Accessories After the Fact

Dear Editor:

I must take issue with Sidney Margolin's editorial [PM, Oct. 22] regarding Beulah, the girl with the basic dress.

Mr. Margolin takes a stand against the J. Walter Thompson Agency, which is only employed to do a job for the combined efforts of the dress manufacturers and the ILGWU. He mustn't lose sight of the fact that there are hundreds of thousands of people whose income depends on the dress industry. They are the people to think about—not the advertising agency.

Furthermore, he was impolite and didn't give Beulah a chance before he criticized her. The purpose of the campaign is not to shame Beulah with her one basic dress, but to show where all of us in the dress industry have helped spend Beulah's money on everything but dresses. We saw that she bought loads of jewelry, belts, gloves, hats, shoes, bags to vary the one costume. She spent more money on accessories than she would have on a complete dress wardrobe. We built up the accessory business and let down the dress business.

And please don't quote Elizabeth Hawes to me.

New York. Betty Lamar

It is highly questionable whether Beulah spends more money on accessories than she would have to for a complete dress wardrobe. If any Beulah in the record does, she is simply not shopping right. PM Shopping News tomorrow will show her how she can accessorize one basic dress to achieve a variety of costumes for different occasions. Obviously, the intent of these ads is to shame and embarrass women out of the economical and clever basic dress idea. If dress manufacturers try to do that, women may get so disgusted they will take to wearing uniforms, which Elizabeth Hawes says is a good idea. Also, if the dress industry will spend its time and money (including the money going into this advertising campaign) in making more attractive dresses at lower prices, women will buy more dresses—they all want them.—ED.

Buy Freedom for Christmas

Dear Editor:

Christmas is coming—the annual orgy of frantic buying of all the unnecessary and useless junk which can be palmed off on a sentimental public by enterprising merchants is at hand. This year, though, is different. The motto, "Peace on earth, goodwill toward men," has been getting out of date pretty rapidly and this year will seem more than usually inappropriate.

In this country we are faced with rising prices and increasing scarcities which may lead to hoarding and inflationary practices. We are also faced with the gigantic task of arming ourselves and our Allies in the desperate attempt to bring again on earth peace and good will toward men.

It seems sinful, wasteful and un-Christian that we should indulge in buying millions of unneeded articles as Christmas presents when that same money, millions and millions of dollars, could be put into defense savings bonds, the proceeds of which will help our armament program and reduce the national spending urge so that more brakes will be put on the inflationary processes.

In place of presents to friends and relatives we can send cards saying: "I think you will enjoy your Christmas more by knowing that I have bought as your present this year a share in the freedom of the United States."

Ridgewood, N. J. Susan P. Howell

* * *

Dear Editor:

I am writing to suggest that PM take the lead in promoting "Buy Defense Stamps and Bonds for Christmas Presents."

New York. Carrie V. Hoard

A Brave Knight and True

(But a darn poor judge of horses)

☆ IMMORTAL ☆ AMERICAN WORDS

From William Cullen Bryant's *The Antiquity of Freedom:*

O, Freedom! Thou art not as poets dream,
A fair young girl, with light and delicate limbs,
And wavy tresses gushing from the cap
With which the Roman master crowned his slave.
When he took off the yoke.

A bearded man, armed to the teeth, art thou; one mailed hand
Grasps the broad shield and the other the sword.
Thy brow, glorious in battle though it be, is scarred.
With tokens of old wars.

PM

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HEARD AND OVERHEARD

NBC Says America First Can So Take the Air

Week-end charges by the America First Committee's New York chapter that the major broadcasting networks had refused to set aside broadcasting time for America First's rally this Thursday night at Madison Square Garden were flatly denied last night by Niles Trammell, president of the National Broadcasting Co.

In a strongly worded telegram to the executive committee of the New York chapter, Trammell labeled the America First charges as "unfair, unreasonable and unjustifiable. . . ."

Not only did Trammell call the charges false, but he stated in his telegram, which was addressed to John T. Flynn, Mrs. John P. Marquand, Anne R. E. Pinchot, H. Dudley Swim and Edwin S. Webster, Jr., that Senator Burton K. Wheeler had rejected an offer of time made by NBC. Wheeler, Charles A. Lindbergh and former Ambassador John Cudahy will speak at the rally.

The time offered by NBC, 10:40 to 11 p.m. Thursday on 62 stations east of Chicago, Trammell declared, was the only available time the chain had. Trammell's telegram also said:

"Your charge that we habitually infringe on unreserved time for so-called war speakers is utterly without merit. . . . Your committee knows or should know that the established policy of NBC is to give equal . . . time to both sides for discussion of any controversial subject. . . .

"This year we have aired the talks of 70 self-styled anti-war speakers as against 56 whom you have pleased to designate as 'pro-war advocates.'"

Of these "anti-war speakers," Trammell's wire pointed out, 15 were America First speakers, more than any other claim had carried.

The America First bleat of unfair treatment was previously denied by the Columbia Broadcasting System over the week end. CBS, however, did not go into the same detail as did NBC. Instead, CBS pointed out that it already had presented over 70 anti-war speakers this year and, added, bluntly:

"We see no reason why Lindbergh should have a nation-wide network every time he speaks."

Keep 'Em Rolling

Clifton Fadiman will be the emcee on a new government radio show starting Nov. 8 over WOR. To be called *Keep 'Em Rolling*, and to be written by Dorothy Parker (*Enough Rope, Sunset Gun*), the series will be broadcast under the auspices of the Office of Emergency Management and will point at showing listeners what America must defend.

Toward this end, *Keep 'Em Rolling*, along with visiting theatrical luminaries, will present each week a "big and little slice" of the U. S. defense effort.

The first big shot will be Donald Nelson, director of the OEM. The first little shot will be a college professor who discovered that spider webs make the best cross lines in range finders and gun sights and who now breeds spiders, just for Uncle Sam.

MOVIE OPENING

NOW GREEN WAS MY VALLEY (20th Century-Fox), at the Rivoli; with Walter Pidgeon, Maureen O'Hara and Roddy McDowell. Opening tonight at 8.00, benefit of Navy Relief Society, $2.75. Continuous performances start Wednesday at 9:30 a.m.

The King's a Bit Old for l'Amour

PM Reviews

THE KING, a Trio Films picture at the Fifth Avenue Playhouse, starring Raimu. With Victor Francen, Elvire Popesco, Gaby Morlay. Screenplay by Louis Verneuil. Directed by Pierre Colombier.

By Cecelia Ager

Amongst the plays popular in France after the time of the celebrity was a comedy called *Le Roi*, which told the story of a libidinous King's visit to Paris and of how he made a cuckold of a politically ambitious snob. Shortly before France fell, *Le Roi* was transferred to film. Yesterday it wended its way to the Fifth Avenue Playhouse, where it is known as *The King* (which sounds kind of flat) and where audiences may be beguiled by it either because (a) they long to have their memories of the last time they saw Paris refreshed, or (b) they want further material for their dossiers on why France fell, or both.

As to (a), since *The King* is drawing-room stuff, its exteriors are the boulevards of Paris and the chateaux country, along which whip elegant motors driven by impeccably livered chauffeurs, etc. It's all there, the Champs Elysees, the Bois, etc.

As to (b), the climaxes of this movie come when the snob, played by Raimu, chances upon first his mistress, played by Elvire Popesco, and then his wife, played by Gaby Morlay, in flagrant delicto with the King, played by Victor Francen. In sturdy democracies, when such things happen, they happen to younger people.

The Messrs. Raimu and Francen and the Mlles. Popesco and Morlay are excellent actors capable of projecting all sorts of passions, including the tender, excruciatingly well. But though people of all ages are prone to the tender passion, on the screen it looks good looking only when suffused by the young and beautiful. When a nation accepts it as becoming to, and the right of, the fat and fading, that nation will probably come to no good end.

The dialogue, situations and characterizations are mostly witty; the direction and photography mostly static and unskilled.

C. Thibault Comes Out of the Ether

Conrad Thibault sings twice a week on the radio nowadays and long has been a favorite for the rich warmth and assurance with which his voice comes over.

Last night at Town Hall he came into behind the mike for the first time in New York to sell instead Gluck, Brahms, Debussy and other serious music. The assurance was there, all right, together with a fine, ingratiating manner. But gone was a good deal of the richness and warmth and in its place a surprising roughness and mottled quality which the engineers seem to have hidden on the ether.

The question of whether a man can sing semi-classical music on the radio week after week and still handle Brahms and company was also pretty well answered. The answer is—on the whole, yes, but not as to the manner born. Occasionally a phrase will turn musical comedy on his best intentions, as the last line of *Die Mainacht*. The enunciation and sincerity were evident and the correctness rather than the at-homeness. I felt that Mr. Thibault would have been a very good instead of a pretty good Fischer-singer if he weren't so successful with a more popular art. Which, please, is no slur on popular art.—Harriet Sisson.

Maureen O'Hara plays Angharad, the lovely sister of the staunch sons of Gwyllim Morgan, in the movie of *How Green Was My Valley*, opening at the Rivoli today.

BROADWAY REPORT:

'The Land Is Bright'

At the Music Box tonight Broadway will get once more an opportunity to look at George S. Kaufman as an upholder of the American Way. *The Land Is Bright* is the name of Mr. K.'s latest excursion into patriotism and, this time, his collaborator is Edna Ferber, a good American herself.

As is Mr. K.'s custom when America is his topic, *The Land Is Bright* is a play about several generations against a panorama of some of the gaudier epochs in the nation's history. The first act deals with robber barons plundering the land in the 90s. The second act goes back to speakeasy days for atmosphere. And the third starts takes place in the present, a time which the authors have good reason to believe is every bit as dramatic as the other two.

The point of *The Land Is Bright* is that the country may have degenerated in the post-war period, but that in these slow times its vigor is returning, and through more constructive channels than it used to take. At the end of the play the old generation has repented and the new one joins the Army.

Re Mr. Clark

Much to everyone's surprise Bobby Clark has decided to be a star in the Theater Guild production of *The Streets* rather than in George Hale's production of a musical show. In the part of Bob Acres he will share star billing with Walter Hampden and Mary Boland. *The Streets* will open Christmas week after a five-week road tour.

As for the show Bobby's in now, *All Men Are Alike*, it's closing Saturday and its producer, Lee Ephraim, is going back to London.

Notes

Porgy and Bess definitely will be revived in New York some time in December with Todd Duncan in the lead. . . . *Hellzapoppin* won't leave town when *Sons O'Fun* comes in, it seems. It'll just move to the Majestic. . . . Leo G. Carroll will be in *Five Finger Exercise*. . . . And Greta Moissin, former European movie star, will be in *Letters to Lucerne*.

FIRST NIGHT

THE LAND IS BRIGHT: A new play by George S. Kaufman and Edna Ferber, presented by Max Gordon at the Music Box, tonight at 8:50. The cast includes Martha Sleeper, Phyllis Povah, Leon Ames, Arnold Moss, Diana Barrymore, Ralph Theodore, Muriel Hutchinson, and Hugh Marlowe; directed by Mr. Kaufman; settings by Jo Mielziner. Opening night, $4.40 to $1.10; other eves., $3.85 to $1.10.

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SPORTS TICKER TALK

Baseball Attendance Was Up in '41 . . .
Giants Lose Yeager for Card Game . . .
Kopf Earned Success at Manhattan

By JOE CUMMISKEY

10,230,208 FANS: That's what big league baseball drew during the regular season of 1941. This was an increase of 68,317 over '40. An increase, too, despite the fact Detroit (the Tigers did a real flop act after winning the pennant in '40) fell off 400,400, which is only 20,000 less than Washington drew all year. The Dodgers, of course, led everybody with 1,215,772, a new record for a Brooklyn club. The Yankees pulled 964,722, about 25,000 less than in '40. Biggest surprise was the attendance figures for the Athletics: 641,029, which was 210,484 higher than the year before.

GIANT-DODGER AFTERMATH: Howard Yeager, freshman speed merchant, cracked his right cheekbone in that Sunday battle and will be out of this week's game with the Cardinals at the Polo Grounds. With Marion Pugh out (broken arm) and F. X. Bonger gone (the Marines have landed him), you can understand that deep scowl which flits across Scout Steve Owen's moon face these days. The rest of the club came out of that all right, however, and will probably bounce back hard to batter the Cards Sunday. . . . Coach Jock Sutherland of the Dodgers took a new lease on life when he won that one Sunday. He was generous in his praise for the team—a rare thing for the dour Scot—and summed up by saying the club really was great Sunday. . . . The only Dodger casualty was tackle Walter Merrill, who broke an ankle and is through for the year. . . . Charlie Armstrong, running and passing star of the New York Americans, didn't crack any ribs in the Sunday win over Buffalo as feared but has a bruised chest. He'll be ready to play at Yankee Stadium Sunday against Milwaukee.

A MINUTE WITH FORDHAM: Watching this 1941 Fordham team perform is, for the most part, a pleasure. But Coach Crowley must have his moments of suspense just the same. Against TCU Saturday, the Rams looked great the first 12 minutes and then apparently decided to coast. Crowley must have noted this, too, but he didn't start running in new men. Instead, he let the boys bitter time away in there. He figured they'd eventually cook in a little of their own juice. They did when TCU tied up the ball game. They rallied, though, the way my gifted team will: poured on power and forgot the nonsense when the chips were down. It's my guess Fordham hasn't got particularly good quarterbacking. They have a lot of great backs, though, who, if they won't cover a multitude of quarterbacking sins, will certainly cover a sizeable patch of ground. And, they tell me, that's the general idea of the game.

MEMO ON MANHATTAN: That win last Friday night by Manhattan over Villanova was just what Coach Herb Kopf and his boys needed. They may be awful tough from here on in. Maybe Manhattan should get worked up in the dressing room before going out for that first quarter. When danger strikes the Kelly Greens it's always in that opening period. Any time they've been able to get by that (as they did Friday) they have the staying power to go the rest of the way. On the very first play of the season, Manhattan was scored on by a 95-yard kickoff return by a St. Bonaventure back. It took them the rest of the day to pull out—and they just did make it. No matter, Coach Kopf deserves a lot of credit this year (he has shuffled and reshuffled trying to get smooth operation) and from this corner he gets a deep bow.

NAMES IN THE TURF NEWS—George F. T. Ryall reports that Dave Wonsiddorff, leading trainer last season, has taken over the horses of Jake Freedman, Texas cattleman, who is getting together a large stable. Wonsiddorff recently left the Dorsemark Stable. . . . Tom Heard, Jr., who had such success with Bayou, purchased from Ed Bradley, has bought another colt from Idle Hour Farm which he hopes will do as well. It is Bygone Star, a three-year-old by Ballaster out of Bird Woman. He has never started. . . . Don Meade caught a cold over the week end, and canceled his mounts at Empire City yesterday. There was, however, some hunting after a couple of races from horse players who felt they had to keep in voice. . . . Hampton and Wall also reported on the sick list, and canceled their engagements. . . . Trainer John Gaver has shipped the Greentree horses to Maryland. . . . Stewards for the Unused Hours Election Day meeting at Belmont Park will be F. Skiddy von Stade and Lewis Waring. . . . Horse players were still complaining about Saturday's racing. One of the tales going the rounds was that a business friend of Royce Martin, who owns Our Boots, came to the track to see the colt run. He'd never bet on a race in his life, but he stepped up and bought $5000 worth of tickets, and spent the rest of the afternoon tearing them up.

AND IN CONCLUSION: An item arrives from South Bend which says the Irish are at full strength for the Army game at Yankee Stadium Saturday. . . . That's all, brother.

Bates Lost to Violets For Penn State Game

Mal Stevens, whose NYU squad is limited to three days of practice scrimmage for its game with Penn State at the Polo Grounds on Friday night, sent the Violets through an unusually tough Monday workout. After a short blackboard session the team put in two tough hours on contact work, devoted largely to blocking and pass defense.

The Violets will present a revamped line-up against the invaders. Len Bates, Negro fullback, hurt his wrist in the Holy Cross defeat last Saturday and will be out for at least 10 days. Bill Stull, reserve tackle, fractured an ankle against the Crusaders and is lost for the season.

¶ CCNY came through its 7-6 victory over Susquehanna in good shape but faces a severe test on Saturday in a lively Hobart crew which knocked off W & J last Saturday. Coach Benny Friedman plans one change in his starting lineup, with Morris Assael, soph, taking over at left half.

¶ Jimmy Crowley gave his Fordham squad Monday off before starting practice for the Purdue encounter.

Tom O'Reilly Says:

Sometimes when I hear football coaches giving out with that honor-bright character-building stuff they remind me of a lot of old ladies. But it's fun to sit around and hear them gossip.

Tom O'Reilly
(Signals Off)

Yesterday with other football writers I heard Navy's Swede Larson, Army's Dave Jablonsky, the Dodgers' (Hurray) Jock Sutherland, Manhattan's Herb Kopf and Jimmy Conzelman of the Chicago Cards.

I heard plenty. Swede said his sailors will be graduated and on the high seas come December and bowl bids probably will be out if they go undefeated. Jablonsky had a lot to say about Notre Dame.

Jock and Herb took bows for upsetting the Giants and Villanova. And Conzelman came right out and said the greatest football coach in America is George Halas of the Chicago Bears.

Swede said Clooney Gil Dobie, the old Cornell great, was up to see him before the Harvard game and after watching his laughing sailors work out remarked sadly, "They'll be surprised tomorrow." . . . Swede thought it was just Dobie's usual pre game attitude but the old guy was right. . . . Jablonsky, one of Red Blaik's right hand men, said that Army has only five good substitutes but will be happy if they stay fit through the season. . . . He predicted that next Sunday morning New York's papers would be hailing Notre Dame's Bertelli as the greatest forward passer in the game—pro or college. . . . Bertelli made that Irish backfield although Joe's only a soph, and has completed more than 50 per cent of his passes this season. . . . Last week against Illinois he completed 11 of 21 . . . And for him a 25-yard pass is a short one. . . . He says Juzwik, 5 feet 8½ and 185, is the hardest runner the team has and that the tip-off on the backfield is found in the fact that Hargraves, last year's quarterback, is now on the second team and Crimmins, a fullback for two years, has been moved up to running guard.

Blaik, said Jablonsky, decided to change West Point's football policy last spring when, during a blackboard session in which he had been explaining that most games were lost at the tackles he caught a kid dreamily looking out the window. . . . "Where," said Blaik, "are most games lost?" And the kid replied "Right here at West Point, Coach." . . . Jablonsky said that Army's starting backfield Saturday would probably be Hatch, Maupin, Mazur and Hill, leaving just one backfield sub.

Herb Kopf said that everybody was telling him how Manhattan's victory over Villanova was nice because it would give his kids a lift. . . . Then he added that it gave him a helluva lift, too. . . . Jock Sutherland simply remarked that he thought Merlyn Condit's blocking had improved just as much as Ace Parker's against the Giants and that that was an important factor in the triumph.

Jimmy Conzelman said that it was about time people quit picking on George Halas's personality and admitted that the guy was the greatest coach in the world. . . . He said Halas has upset the entire country with his T-formation and that the guy is always just a little bit ahead of the field. . . . He said he would like to experiment with the T for a year or two but was afraid that if he did he would wind up without a job and a living room full of little T-formations. . . . He said he didn't think anyone could beat the Bears except the Bears themselves. . . . His only hope for improving the situation was that maybe the League would follow Bert Bell's idea and give the clubs in the lower half a two-to-one advantage in the draft. . . . Altogether, lunch with the coaches is fun. . . . Filling too, Harrumph!

Maj. E. E. (Swede) Larson, Navy coach, as he addressed the grid experts at luncheon yesterday.

Photo by Morris Engel, PM

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PM RACING FOOTBALL BOXING 5¢

Vol. II, No. 95 Tuesday, October 28, 1941 New York, N. Y.

KEN STOFER, Cornell's junior halfback, came to Ithaca from Lakewood, O. He's a left-handed passer, kicks with his right foot. Ken is 22, 5 ft. 9, weighs 185.

Little Drills Reserves for Cornell Game

With two straight defeats stacking him in the loss, Lou Little is looking for a new formula for his Columbia Lions as they prepare for a Cornell invasion of Baker Field on Saturday.

For years Little has devoted himself almost entirely to 11 handles depended on to play almost 60 minutes in every game. Never has he had enough reserve material to build up a respectable second team.

But this season injuries and defeats have forced Little to alter his tactics. Yesterday he excused his first team and spent the entire practice session drilling reserves chosen on all-varsity plays against a defensive team composed of third-stringers and freshmen.

Little hasn't given up on his regulars, but he knows that Carl Snavely has a heavy, three-deep squad up in Ithaca and that his starters will take a terrible beating on Saturday. If the second-stringers don't look better than they have so far, the Lions will have their first three-game losing streak since Little came to Morningside Heights back in 1930.

Snavely, after a great season in '40, has had to rebuild almost from rock-bottom this season as most of his starting eleven and reserves are gone. He has two veteran backs in Tom Buffalino and Kenny Stofer, a pair of holdover ends, Red Johnson and Roy Jenkins, and one other 1940 lineman, Capt. Peter Wolff, a guard. But with a squad of 75, including 49 sophomores, the Cornell coach boasts a club which looks better each week and should be at its peak for the Columbia game. They probably won't equal last year's 27-0 win over the Lions, but should certainly be favored to topple the Light Blue.

LOU DUFALINO, the other halfback for the Big Red, is a senior from Swampscott, Mass., who is studying hotel administration. Lou is 22, 5 ft. 10, 175 pounds.

ALL-AMERICA KNOT: John Kimbrough Has It Tied at Cathedral of St. John the Divine

Barbara Gulding, of Houston, became Mrs. John Kimbrough in the St. James Chapel yesterday afternoon.

Kimbrough, All America from the Texas Aggies, is playing football for the New York Americans this season.

The couple's families have known each other for years. Bride attended Rice Institute and Marymount College.

Reception was at the Waldorf. They'll go to Los Angeles in December.

Photos by Ray Platnick, PM

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PSF: Morgenthau
1-41

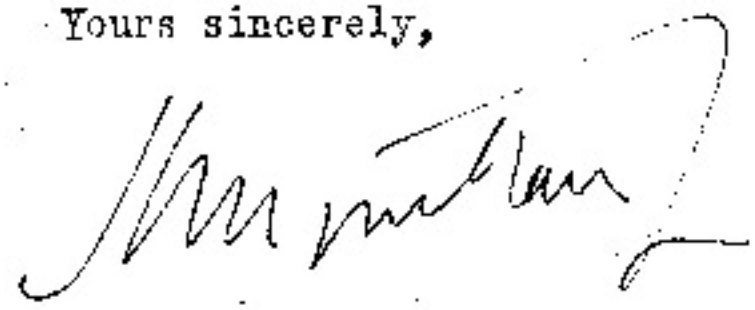
THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

December 6, 1941

My dear Mr. President:

I am sending you herewith an analysis of three different estimates of the German oil situation.

Yours sincerely,



The President,
The White House.

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PSF: Germany

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

INTER OFFICE COMMUNICATION

DATE December 6, 1941

TO Secretary Morgenthau

FROM Mr. Kamarck

Subject: Estimates of the German Oil Position

Summary

All the available estimates indicate that Germany has been forced to dip into her oil reserves for the Russian campaign. The two up-to-date estimates, those of the British and Russians, both conclude that, as a result, Germany will be forced to restrict her military oil consumption. The British believe that the Germans will be able to do this fairly easily, whereas the Russians state that it may reduce German armored operations.

1. The Russian, British and Treasury studies all agree that up to the invasion of Russia, the axis was able to maintain its reserves intact, i.e. production was approximately equal to the restricted consumption.

2. The Russian and Treasury estimates of the German oil reserves prior to the Russian campaign are both 7,000,000 tons. The British put the figure at 5,000,000 to 5,500,000 tons. An Italian study published in August is more indefinite and says only "some millions" of stocks were on hand.

3. Both the British and Russians agree that in the Russian campaign the Germans have been forced to dip into their reserves. The British calculate the deficit to be 400,000 tons a month, the Russians, 900,000 tons. The Italian discussion does not state so flatly but it can be deduced from the consumption and production figures given that the German reserves had to be drawn on. The Treasury has not made any studies of the German oil situation during the Russian campaign and so no estimates are available.

It is of interest to note that the Italian figures are much closer to the Russian data than are the English figures. The Russians believe that the Germans are consuming 2,000,000 tons of oil a month in their military campaigns. The Italians say that the consumption is 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 tons a month for military purposes alone. The British put consumption for all purposes at 1,500,000 tons.

4. The excess of consumption over production by November 1, 1941, had depleted German reserves to 3,400,000 - 3,900,000 tons, according to the British, and to 3,400,000 tons, according to the Russians.

5. Both the British and Russians agree that the axis will have to curtail its military consumption of oil. However, the British believe that the Germans can easily save 200,000 to 300,000 tons a month in their military consumption and meet the rest of the deficit by civil saving and increased production. The Russians do not believe that this can be done easily but that the Germans will be forced to finish up their reserves completely and then, "the Germans will have to reduce armored operations or invent new, synthetic means".

Appendix

German Oil Position during the Russian Campaign

	Source of Estimate			
	Russian	British	Italian	U.S. Treasury
	(In thousands of tons)			
Reserves, June 22, 1941	7,000	5,000	Some millions of tons	7,000
Monthly military consumption	2,000	No estimate	1,500 - 2,000	No estimate
Total consumption, all uses	2,500	1,550	No estimate	No estimate
Total production	1,010* (1,600)	1,150	(1,100)**	800 (1940)
Deficit per month	900	400	No estimate "Germans will not run short"	No estimate

* According to the text as transmitted by New York Times, but according to the arithmetic of the problem, total production should be 1,600,000 tons instead of 1,010,000 tons.

** This total is derived. The article states German and occupied territories produce 1,500,000 tons of natural oil annually; Romania, 6,000,000 tons; other Balkan countries, 500,000 tons; Germany, "a few million tons of synthetic gasoline". Assuming, to be on the safe side, that "few million tons" is equivalent to 5,000,000 tons, this still makes total German production not more than 1,100,000 tons a month.

Sources: Russian estimate as given by General Koteff, New York Times, December 5, 1941.
British estimate as reported by Colonel Donovan.
Italian estimate given in a study in Relazione Internazionale, Rome, August, 1941, reported in N.Y. Times, August, 1941.
U.S. Treasury estimate given in various memoranda, Summer and fall of 1940.

FOR THE FILES

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

December 12, 1941.

MEMORANDUM FOR

H. H.

Will you read this and tell whatever part of it you want to Litvinoff?

F. D. R.

Please return for our files.

Note from the Secretary of the Treasury, dated Dec. 6th, enclosing memorandum of Estimates of the German oil situation.

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(PSF: GERMANY
1942 — 43

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No material for 1942 - 43.

Lock box for events
PSF: Germany

GS
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. (SC)

Stockholm
Dated July 27, 1941
Rec'd 6:25 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

453, July 27, noon.

Having just returned from a week or so in Germany where travelled a good deal and spent two days at Goering's headquarters, 500 miles East of Berlin, Dahlerus in a long conversation yesterday among other things stated the following

One. Goering told him that Japan had been granted a free hand in east Russia and might be expected to try to take Vladivostok and other coastal places.

Two. Despite German surprise at number, size and strength of armament of Russian tanks Goering now felt that power of Russian armies will be crushed in about six weeks from now.

Three. It is then planned to divide Russia into small states, Goering to be economic dictator and Rosenberg political dictator in conquered areas.

Four. In retreating Russians have effectively put manufacturing establishments out of commission but efforts to destroy crops have not been successful and Germany expects to reap most of coming harvest and has no

1296

no compunctions at starving Russians if necessary to keep flow of food and raw materials moving to Germany indefinitely.

Five. Dahlerus (*)ep whatever of invasion of British is less and felt it possible it was no longer planned. Hitler is now preparing for a long drawn out war and no peace suggestions will be advanced by Germany at conclusion of Russian campaign as had been predicted in other quarters in Sweden. As soon as German forces are released in case all out effort will bemade by air against England and in battle of Atlantic.

Six. Goering was much perturbed at American occupation of Iceland.

Seven. From his intimate connections in other quarters in Germany I felt that influence of army over party was somewhat in a (?)ancy.

Eight. He felt as have other visitors that German civilian population was thoroughly war weary.

Nine. Goering is not isolated nor does he seem to have lost favor with Hitler. British propaganda to effect that Goering and Hitler differed over Russian campaign are false.

Ten. Goering is very much annoyed with Sweden for having been so little cooperative in connection with

other

other requests when troop transit to Finland came up. Nevertheless no threats were made because of this.

Eleven: Dahlerus, as Department is aware, has been hoping to be an instrument in bringing about peace even since before war commenced in 1939 now feels less hopeful about it than at any time and expects complete destruction of Europe as inevitable (?) of continued hostilities unless some peace proposal is submitted from neutral sources.

GREENE

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PRESIDENT'S SECRETARY'S FILE:
Diplomatic Correspondence w/Germany: Jan-Sept. 1944

Suggested Post-Surrender Program for Germany

1. Demilitarization of Germany.

It should be the aim of the Allied Forces to accomplish the complete demilitarization of Germany in the shortest possible period of time after surrender. This means completely disarming the German Army and people (including the removal or destruction of all war material), the total destruction of the whole German armament industry, and the removal or destruction of other key industries which are basic to military strength.

2. Partitioning of Germany.

(a) Poland should get that part of East Prussia which doesn't go to the U.S.S.R. and the southern portion of Silesia as indicated on the attached map, (Appendix A).

(b) France should get the Saar and the adjacent territories bounded by the Rhine and the Moselle Rivers.

(c) As indicated in part 3 an International Zone should be created containing the Ruhr and the surrounding industrial areas.

(d) The remaining portion of Germany should be divided into two autonomous, independent states, (1) a South German state comprising Bavaria, Wuerttemberg, Baden and some smaller areas and (2) a North German state comprising a large part of the old state of Prussia, Saxony, Thuringia and several smaller states.

There shall be a custom union between the new South German state and Austria, which will be restored to her pre-1938 political borders.

3. The Ruhr Area. (The Ruhr, surrounding industrial areas, as shown on the attached map, including the Rhineland, the Keil Canal, and all German territory north of the Keil Canal.)

Here lies the heart of German industrial power, the caldron of wars. This area should not only be stripped of all presently existing industries but so weakened and controlled that it can not in the foreseeable future become an industrial area. The following steps will accomplish this:

(a) Within a short period, if possible not longer than 6 months after the cessation of hostilities, all industrial plants and equipment not destroyed by military action shall either be completely dismantled and removed from the area or completely destroyed. All equipment shall be removed from the mines and the mines shall be thoroughly wrecked.

It is anticipated that the stripping of this area would be accomplished in three stages:

(i) The military forces immediately upon entry into the area shall destroy all plants and equipment which cannot be r[illegible]

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(ii) Removal of plants and equipment by members of the United Nations as restitution and reparation (Paragraph 4).

(iii) All plants and equipment not removed within a stated period of time, say 6 months, will be completely destroyed or reduced to scrap and allocated to the United Nations.

(b) All people within the area should be made to understand that this area will not again be allowed to become an industrial area. Accordingly, all people and their families within the area having special skills or technical training should be encouraged to migrate permanently from the area and should be as widely dispersed as possible.

(c) The area should be made an international zone to be governed by an international security organization to be established by the United Nations. In governing the area the international organization should be guided by policies designed to further the above stated objectives.

4. Restitution and Reparation.

Reparations, in the form of recurrent payments and deliveries, should not be demanded. Restitution and reparation shall be effected by the transfer of existing German resources and territories, e.g.,

(a) by restitution of property looted by the Germans in territories occupied by them;

(b) by transfer of German territory and German private rights in industrial property situated in such territory to invaded countries and the international organization under the program of partition;

(c) by the removal and distribution among devastated countries of industrial plants and equipment situated within the International Zone and the North and South German states delimited in the section on partition;

(d) by forced German labor outside Germany; and

(e) by confiscation of all German assets of any character whatsoever outside of Germany.

5. Education and Propaganda.

(a) All schools and universities will be closed until an Allied Commission of Education has formulated an effective reorganization program. It is contemplated that it may require a considerable period of time before any institutions of higher education are reopened. Meanwhile the education of German students in foreign universities will not be prohibited. Elementary schools will be reopened as quickly as appropriate teachers and textbooks are available.

(b) All German radio stations and newspapers, magazines, weeklies, etc. shall be discontinued until adequate controls are established and an appropriate program formulated.

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6. Political Decentralization.

The military administration in Germany in the initial period should be carried out with a view toward the eventual partitioning of Germany into three states. To facilitate partitioning and to assure its permanence the military authorities should be guided by the following principles:

(a) Dismiss all policy-making officials of the Reich government and deal primarily with local governments.

(b) Encourage the reestablishment of state governments in each of the states (Lander) corresponding to 18 states into which Germany is presently divided and in addition make the Prussian provinces separate states.

(c) Upon the partition of Germany, the various state governments should be encouraged to organize a federal government for each of the newly partitioned areas. Such new governments should be in the form of a confederation of states, with emphasis on states' rights and a large degree of local autonomy.

7. Responsibility of Military for Local German Economy.

The sole purpose of the military in control of the German economy shall be to facilitate military operations and military occupation. The Allied Military Government shall not assume responsibility for such economic problems as price controls, rationing, unemployment, production, reconstruction, distribution, consumption, housing, or transportation, or take any measures designed to maintain or strengthen operations. The responsibility for sustaining the German economy and people rests with the German people with such facilities as may be available under the circumstances.

8. Controls over Development of German Economy.

During a period of at least twenty years after surrender adequate controls, including controls over foreign trade and tight restrictions on capital imports, shall be maintained by the United Nations designed to prevent in the newly-established states the establishment or expansion of key industries basic to the German military potential and to control other key industries.

9. Punishment of War Crimes and Treatment of Special Groups.

There is attached (Appendix B) a program for the punishment of certain war crimes and for the treatment of Nazi organizations and other special groups.

10. Wearing of Insignia and Uniforms.

(a) No person in German (except members of the United Nations and neutral countries) shall be permitted to wear any military insignia of rank or branch of service, service ribbons or military medals.

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(b) No such person shall be permitted to wear, after 6 months from the cessation of hostilities any military uniform or any uniform of any quasi military organizations.

11. Prohibition on Parades.

No military parades shall be permitted anywhere in German and all military bands shall be disbanded.

12. Aircraft

All aircraft (including gliders), whether military or commercial, will be confiscated for later disposition. No German shall be permitted to operate or to help operate such aircraft, including those owned by foreign interests.

13. United States Responsibility.

(a) The responsibility for the execution of the post-surrender program for Germany set forth in this memorandum is the joint responsibility of the United Nations. The execution of the joint policy agreed upon should therefore eventually be entrusted to the international body which emerges from United Nations discussions.

Consideration of the specific measures to be taken in carrying out the joint program suggests the desirability of separating the task to be performed during the initial period of military occupation from those which will require a much longer period of execution. While the U.S., U.K. and U.S.S.R. will, for practical reasons, play the major role (of course aided by the military forces of other United Nations) in demilitarizing Germany (point 1) the detailed execution of other parts of the program can best be handled by Germany's continental neighbors.

(b) When Germany has been completely demilitarized there would be the following distribution of duties in carrying out the German program:

(i) The U.S. would have military and civilian representation on whatever international commission or commissions may be established for the execution of the whole German program and such representatives should have adequate U.S. staffs.

(ii) The primary responsibility for the policing of Germany and for civil administration in Germany would be assumed by the military forces of Germany's continental neighbors. Specifically, these should include Russian, French, Polish, Czech, Greek, Yugoslav, Norwegian, Dutch and Belgian soldiers.

(c) Under this program United States troops could be withdrawn within a relatively short time. [Actual withdrawal of United States troops should not precede agreement with the U.S.S.R. and the U.K. on the principles set forth in this memorandum.]

14. Appointment of an American High Commissioner

An American High Commissioner for Germany should be appointed as soon as possible, so that he can sit in on the development of the American views on this problem.

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APPENDIX B

Punishment of Certain War Crimes and Treatment of Special Groups.

A. Punishment of Certain War Criminals.

(1) Arch-criminals.

A list of the arch-criminals of this war whose obvious guilt has generally been recognized by the United Nations shall be drawn up as soon as possible and transmitted to the appropriate military authorities. The military authorities shall be instructed with respect to all persons who are on such list as follows:

(a) They shall be apprehended as soon as possible and identified as soon as possible after apprehension, the identification to be approved by an officer of the General rank.

(b) When such identification has been made the person identified shall be put to death forthwith by firing squads made up of soldiers of the United Nations.

(2) Certain Other War Criminals.

(a) Military commissions shall be established by the Allied Military Government for the trial of certain crimes which have been committed against civilization during this war. As soon as practicable, representatives of the liberated countries of Europe shall be included on such commissions. These crimes shall include those crimes covered by the following section and such other crimes as such military commissions may be ordered to try from time to time.

(b) Any person who is suspected of being responsible for (through the issuance of orders or otherwise), or having participated in, causing the death of any human being in the following situations shall be arrested and tried promptly by such military commissions, unless prior to trial one of the United Nations has requested that such person be placed in its custody for trial on similar charges for acts committed within its territory:

(i) The death was caused by action in violation of the rules of war.

(ii) The victim was killed as a hostage in reprisal for the deeds of other persons.

(iii) The victim met death because of his nationality, race, color, creed, or political conviction.

(c) Any person who is convicted by the military commissions of the crimes specified in paragraph (b) shall be sentenced to death, unless the military commissions, in exceptional cases, determine that there are extenuating circumstances, in which

case other punishment may be meted out, including deportation to a penal colony outside of Germany. Upon conviction, the sentence shall be carried out immediately.

B. Detention of Certain Groups.

All members of the following groups should be detained until the extent of the guilt of each individual is determined:

(a) The S.S.

(b) The Gestapo.

(c) All high officials of the police, S.A. and other security organizations.

(d) All high Government and Nazi Party officials.

(e) All leading public figures closely identified with Nazism.

C. Registration of Males.

An appropriate program will be formulated for the re-registration as soon as possible of all males of the age of 14 or over. The registration shall be on a form and in a manner to be prescribed by the military authorities and shall show, among other things, whether or not the person registering is a member of the Nazi Party or affiliated organizations, the Gestapo, S.S., S.A. or Kraft Korps.

D. Labor Battalions.

Apart from the question of established guilt for special crimes, mere membership in the S.S., the Gestapo and similar groups will constitute the basis for inclusion into compulsory labor battalion to serve outside Germany for reconstruction purposes.

E. Dissolution of Nazi Organizations.

The Nazi Party and all affiliated organizations such as the Labor Front, The Hitler Youth, The Strength-through-Joy, etc., should be dissolved and their properties and records confiscated. Every possible effort should be made to prevent any attempts to reconstitute them in underground or disguised form.

F. Prohibition on Exercise of Certain Privileges.

All members of the following groups should be dismissed from public office, disenfranchised and disqualified to hold any public office or to engage in journalist, teaching, and legal professions, or, in any managerial capacity in banking, manufacturing or trade:

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(1) The Nazi Party.

(2) Nazi sympathizers who by their words or deeds materially aided or abetted the Nazi program.

(3) The Junkers.

(4) Military and Naval officers.

G. Junker Estates.

All Junker estates should be broken up and divided among the peasants and the system of primogeniture and entail should be abolished.

H. Prohibition on Emigration.

(1) A Proclamation shall be issued prohibiting any person resident in Germany from leaving or attempting to leave Germany, except with permission from the Allied Military Government.

(2) Violation of this Proclamation shall be an offense triable by military commissions of the Allied Military Government and heavy penalties shall be prescribed, including death.

(3) All possible steps shall be taken by the military authorities to prevent any such person from leaving (without permission).

Henry Morgenthau Jr.

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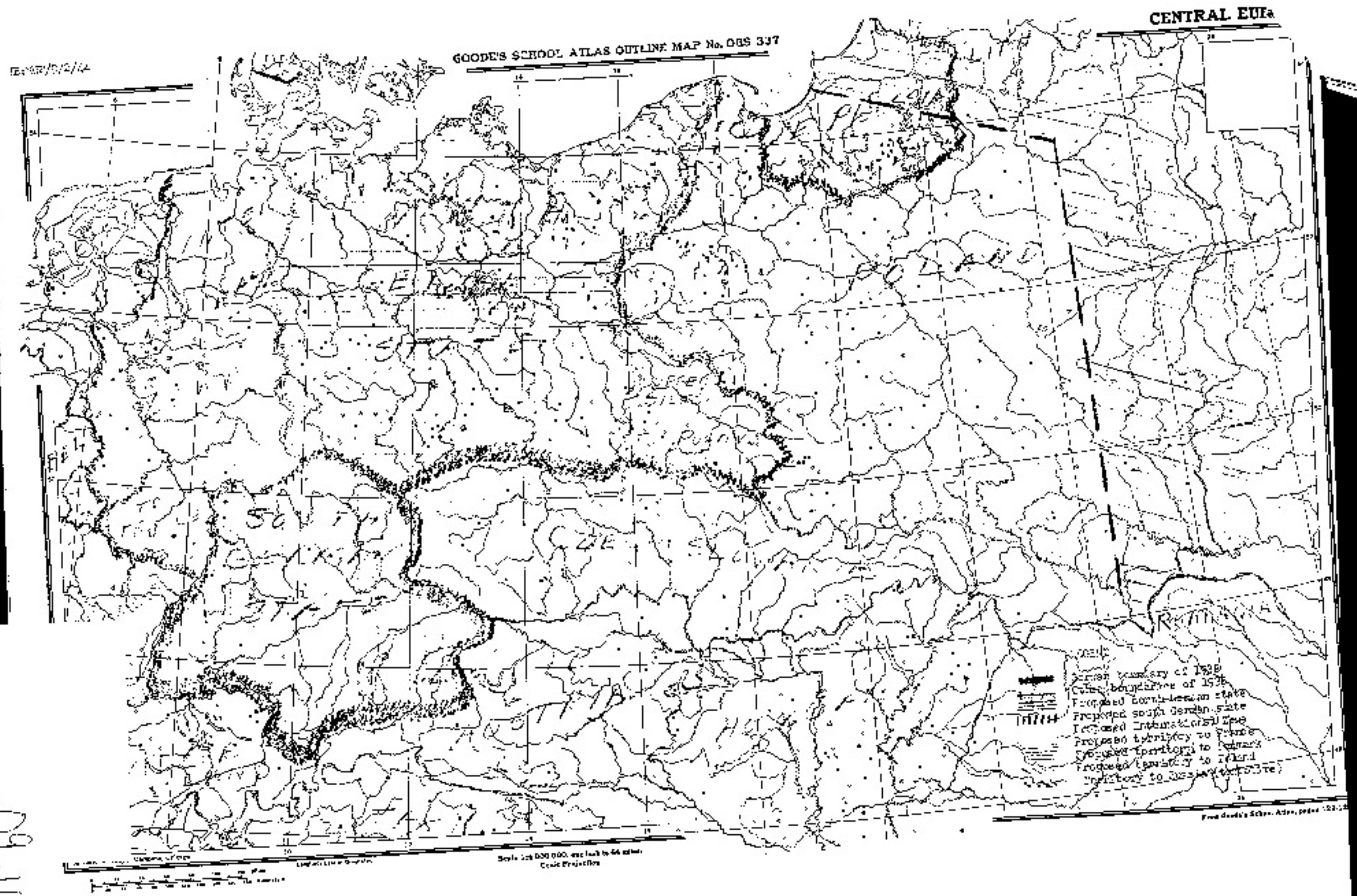

CENTRAL EUROPE
GOODE'S SCHOOL ATLAS OUTLINE MAP No. OGS 337
Proposed Internationalized Zone
Proposed territory to Poland
Proposed territory to Czechoslovakia
Proposed territory to Italy

GOODE'S SCHOOL ATLAS OUTLINE MAP No. OGS 337

CENTRAL EUROPE

From Goode's School Atlas, pages 122-123

-F: Germany

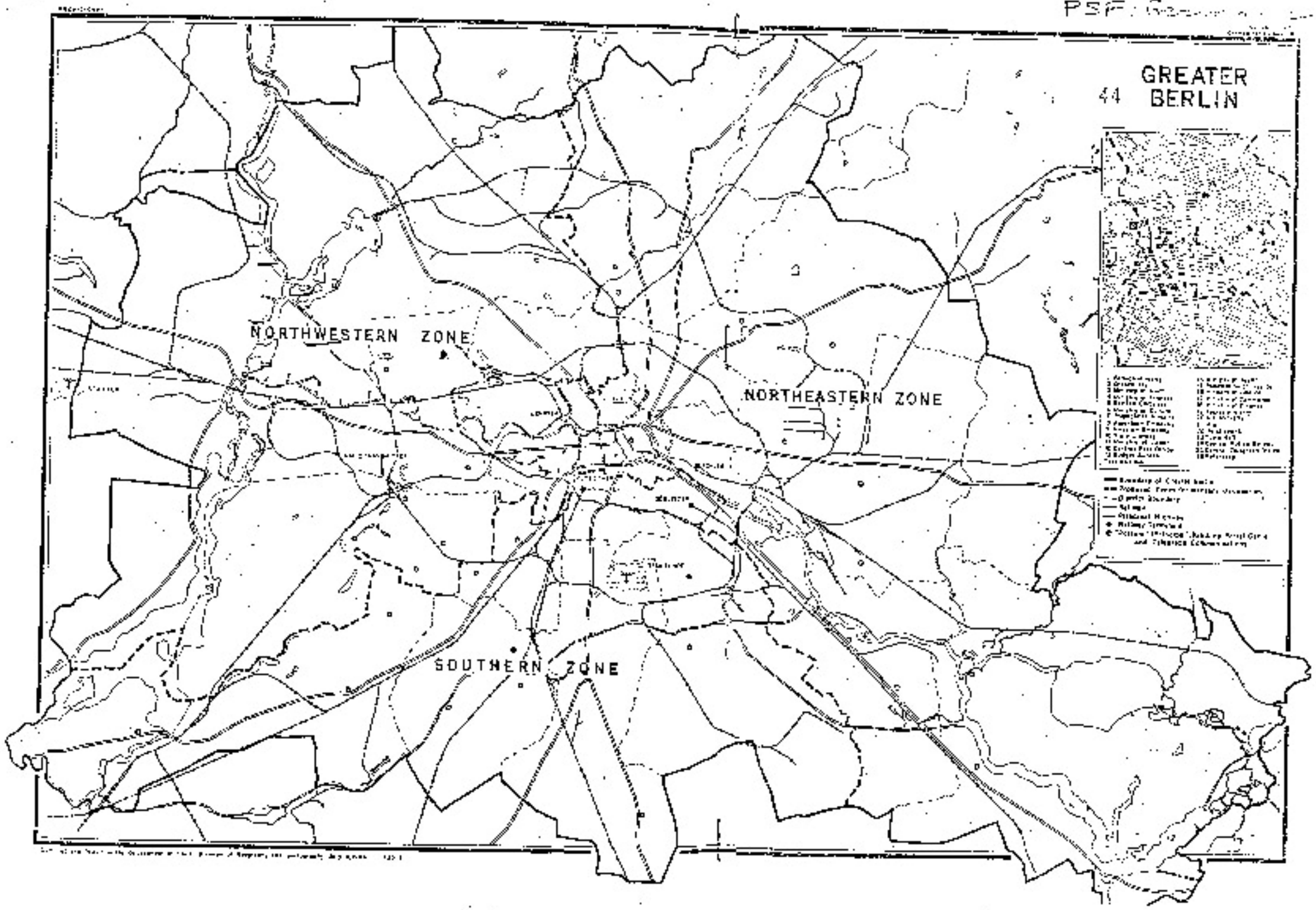
DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

September 11, 1944

This map, showing the zones of occupation for "Greater Berlin" was prepared in the Department on the basis of the data contained in the draft protocol regarding the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin" as amended in the meeting of the European Advisory Commission held on August 2, 1944. The map referred to in the protocol itself has not yet been received.

;297 bcl


GREATER BERLIN
44
NORTHWESTERN ZONE
NORTHEASTERN ZONE
SOUTHERN ZONE

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

I enclose herewith a copy of a telegram from Ambassador Winant, outlining the present status of the work of the European Advisory Commission. There is likewise enclosed a copy of the draft protocol regarding the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin" which is referred to in Ambassador Winant's telegram.

CH

Enclosures:

1 Telegram from Ambassador Winant, September 9, 1944.
2 Draft protocol.

of Lower, Upper, and Eastern Silesia of the frontier of Brandenburg along the western

1297 Col

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

DIVISION

ENCLOSURE

TO

Letter drafted.

ADDRESSED TO

INCOMING
TELEGRAM

GRE-347
This telegram must be
closely paraphrased before
being communicated
to anyone. [redacted]

London

Dated September 9, 1944

Rec'd 7:25 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

U.S. URGENT

MILES FROM, September 9, Midnight.

PERSONAL FOR [redacted] TO THE SECRETARY AND ASSISTANT SECRETARY

Mr. Secretary Ambassador Winant told me today on
behalf of the European Advisory Commission he was
writing a message for Monday afternoon. We have already
received the draft surrender terms, which have been
accepted without conditions by the U. S. and U.S.S.R.
Governments and by the British subject to conditions
which, I now have been informed by Mr. Eden, will be
cleared. Gousev told me that he is now in a position
to agree to recommend acceptance by the EAC of the German
protocol covering zones, leaving in blank the land routes
the U. S. and U. K. zones with the understanding
that the U. S. Government and the U. K. Government will
agree on their respective zones and routes of access in
Germany and Berlin. That means that this document
will have received informal clearance in all other
capitals.

63

[illegible]

[illegible] Bonn for [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of a well officiated [illegible]

[illegible] basic problems [illegible]

[illegible] model on [illegible]

[illegible] agreement for [illegible]

[illegible] 3. a multilateral limited to [illegible]

[illegible]. We are now analyzing the [illegible]

[illegible] allied governments with respect to the

[illegible] of Germany. You are also aware of our [illegible]

[illegible] since [illegible] we are [illegible]

[illegible] for Bonn.

I would greatly appreciate be your picking [illegible]

[illegible] in the President's [illegible]

[illegible] problem 1.

[illegible]

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72
By [illegible] Date

[illegible]

[illegible] of [illegible],
[illegible] frontier of
the frontier of Bra

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Printed in F.R.U.S., The Conferences at Malta and Yalta 1945 pp. 118-12[illegible]

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

TERRITORIAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE.

DRAFT PROTOCOL.

Between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, on the zones of occupation in Germany and the Administration of Greater Berlin.

(as agreed at the meeting held on 2nd August, 1944.)

The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the United States of America have reached the following agreement with regard to the execution of Article 14 of the Instrument of Surrender of Germany :-

1. Germany, within her frontiers as they were on the 31st December, 1937, will, for the purposes of occupation, be divided into three zones, one of which will be allotted to each of the three Powers, and a special Berlin area, which will be under joint occupation by the three Powers.

2. The boundaries of the three zones and of the Berlin area, and the allocation of the three zones as between the U.S.S.R., the U.K. and the U.S.A. will be as follows :-

Eastern Zone (as shown on the annexed map "A")	The territory of Germany (including the province of East Prussia) situated to the East of a line drawn from the point on Lübeck Bay where the frontiers of Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg meet, along the western frontier of Mecklenburg to the frontier of the province of Hanover, thence, along the western frontier of Saxony, to the frontier of Brandenburg; thence along the western frontier of the Brandenburg province of Saxony to the western frontier of Anhalt; thence along the western frontier of Anhalt; thence along the western frontier of the Brandenburg	province/

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

[illegible]

province of Saxony and the southern frontier of Thuringia to where the latter meets the Bavarian frontier; thence eastwards along the southern frontier of Bavaria to the 1937 Czechoslovakian frontier, will be occupied by armed forces of the U.S.S.R., with the exception of the Berlin area, for which a special system of occupation is provided below.

North-Western Zone (as shown on the annexed map "A")

The Territory of Germany situated to the west of the line defined above, and bounded on the south by a line drawn from the point where the western frontier of Thuringia meets the frontier of Bavaria; thence westwards along the southern frontiers of the Prussian provinces of Hessen-Nassau and Rheinprovinz to where the latter meets the frontier of France, will be occupied by armed forces of

South-Western Zone (as shown on the annexed map "A")

All the remaining territory of Western Germany situated to the south of the line defined in the description of the North-Western Zone will be occupied by armed forces of

The frontiers of States (Länder) and Provinces within Germany, referred to in the foregoing descriptions of the zones, are those which existed after the coming into effect of the decree of 25th June, 1941 (published in the Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, No. 72, 3rd July, 1942).

Berlin Area (as shown on the annexed map "B")

The Berlin area (by which expression is understood the territory of "Greater Berlin" as defined by the law of the 27th April, 1920) will be jointly occupied by armed forces of the U.S.S.R., U.K. and U.S.A. designated by the respective Commanders-in-Chief. For this purpose the territory of "Greater Berlin" will be divided into the following three parts :-

North-Eastern part of "Greater Berlin" (districts of Pankow, Prenzlauerberg, Mitte, Weissensee, Friedrichshain, Lichtenberg, Treptow, Köpenick) will be occupied by the forces of the U.S.S.R.:

North-Western part of "Greater Berlin" (districts of Reinickendorf, Wedding, Tiergarten, Charlottenburg, Spandau, Wilmersdorf), will be occupied by the forces of

Southern part of "Greater Berlin" (districts of Zehlendorf, Steglitz, Schöneberg, Kreuzberg, Tempelhof, Neukölln) will be occupied by the forces of

The

[illegible] "Greater Berlin" referred to in the Zone of Occupation, as [illegible] [illegible] of the Protocol published on 27th March, 1945 (Gesetzblatt für Groß-Berlin No. 13 of 27th March, 1945, page 215).

3. The occupying forces in each of the three zones into which Germany is divided will be under a Commander-in-Chief designated by the Government of the country whose forces occupy that zone.

4. Each of the three Powers may, at its discretion, include among the forces undertaking occupation duties under the command of its Commander-in-Chief, auxiliary contingents from the forces of any other Allied Power which has participated in military operations against Germany.

5. An Inter-Allied Governing Authority (Kommandatura) consisting of three Commanders, appointed by their respective Commanders-in-Chief, will be established to direct jointly the administration of the "Greater Berlin" Area.

6. This Protocol has been drawn up in triplicate in the Russian and English languages. Both texts are authentic. The Protocol will come into force on the signature by Germany of the Instrument of Unconditional Surrender.

LANCASTER HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

3rd August, 1944.

Printed in F.R.U.S. The Conferences at Malta and Yalta 1945 pp 118-121

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

PROTOCOL

between the Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom and the United States of America, on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of Greater Berlin.

(as amended at the meeting held on 2nd August, 1945.)

The Governments of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the United States of America have reached the following agreement with regard to the execution of Article 11 of the Instrument of Surrender of Germany :-

1. Germany, within her frontiers as they were on the 31st December, 1937, will, for the purposes of occupation, be divided into three zones, one of which will be allotted to each of the three Powers, and a special Berlin area, which will be under joint occupation by the three Powers.

2. The boundaries of the three zones and of the Berlin area, and the allocation of the three zones as between the U.S.S.R., the U.K. and the U.S.A. will be as follows :-

Eastern Zone (as shown on the annexed map "A")	The territory of Germany (including the province of East Prussia) situated to the East of a line drawn from the point on Lübeck Bay where the frontiers of Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg meet, along the western frontier of Mecklenburg to the frontier of the province of Hanover, thence, along the western frontier of Hanover, to the frontier of Brunswick; thence along the western frontier of the Brunswick province of Saxony to the western frontier of Anhalt; thence along the western frontier of Anhalt; thence along the western frontier of the Saxonian province/

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[illegible] of Germany and the [illegible] the [illegible] of Thuringia to where the [illegible] meets the Saxonian frontier; thence [illegible] along the northern frontier of Saxonia to the 1937 demarcation frontier, which will be occupied by armed forces of the U.S.S.R., with the exception of the Berlin area, for which a special system of occupation is provided below.

North-Western Zone (as shown on the annexed map "A")

The territory of Germany situated to the west of the line defined above, and bounded on the south by a line drawn from the point where the western frontier of Thuringia meets the frontier of Bavaria; thence westwards along the southern frontiers of the Prussian provinces of Hessen-Nassau and Rheinprovinz to where the latter meets the frontier of France will be occupied by armed forces of

South-Western Zone (as shown on the annexed map "A")

All the remaining territory of Western Germany situated to the south of the line defined in the description of the North-Western Zone will be occupied by armed forces of

The Provinces of Baden (Pfalz) and Bavaria within Germany, referred to in the preceding description of the zones, are those which existed after the coming into effect of the decree of 25th June, 1941 (published in the Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, No. 72, 3rd July, 1941).

Berlin area (as shown on the annexed map "B")

The Berlin area (by which expression is understood the territory of "Greater Berlin" as defined by the law of the 27th April, 1920) will be jointly occupied by armed forces of the U.S.S.R., U.K. and U.S.A. assigned by the respective Commanders-in-Chief. For this purpose the territory of "Greater Berlin" will be divided into the following three parts :-

North-East part of "Greater Berlin" (districts of Pankow, Prenzlauerberg, Mitte, Weissensee, Friedrichshain, Lichtenberg, Treptow, Köpenick) will be occupied by the forces of the U.S.S.R.;

North-West part of "Greater Berlin" (districts of Wedding, Charlottenburg, Spandau, Charlottenburg, Reinickendorf, Wilmersdorf), will be occupied by the forces of

Southern part of "Greater Berlin" (districts of Zehlendorf, Steglitz, Schöneberg, Kreuzberg, Tempelhof, Neukölln) will be occupied by the forces of

[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
published on 27th [illegible], 1938 (publication
[illegible] Cmd. [illegible] of
[illegible] Paper, 1938, page [illegible]).

3. [illegible] Germany [illegible] Germany is divided will be [illegible] a Commander-in-Chief [illegible] by the Government of the country whose forces occupy that area.

4. Each of the three zones may, at its discretion, include among the forces assigned to occupation duties under the command of its Commander-in-Chief, auxiliary contingents from the forces of any other Allied Power which has participated in military operations against Germany.

5. The Inter-Allied Governing Authority (Commandatura) consisting of three Commandants, appointed by their respective Governments-in-Chief, will be established to deal with the administration of Greater Berlin.

6. This protocol has been drawn up in duplicate in the Russian and English languages. Both texts are authentic. The Protocol will come into force on the signature by Germany of the Instrument of Unconditional Surrender.

LANCASTER HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

5th August, 1944.

PSF
Germany

[redacted]

E.A.C.(44) 9th Meeting

12th September, 1944

EUROPEAN ADVISORY COMMISSION

MINUTES of Meeting held at Lancaster House, London, S.W.1, on Tuesday, 12th September, 1944, at 5 p.m.

Present :

Mr. F.T. Gousev (in the Chair),
Mr. G.F. Saksin,
Mr. N.V. Ivanov.

Sir W. Strang,
Major-General A.W. Anderson,
Mr. C. O'Neill.

Mr. J.G. Winant,
Brigadier-General V. Meyer,
Mr. P.E. Mosely.

Secretariat

Mr. I.G. Prigorny,
Mr. W.D. McAfee.

AGENDA

Approval of text of Protocol between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin".

THE COMMISSION :

APPROVAL of text of the Protocol between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin"

(a) approved the text of the Protocol between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin", as agreed between the U.S.A., U.K. and U.S.S.R. Delegations, the boundaries of the zones of occupation in Germany and Greater Berlin being as marked on the annexed maps "A" and "B" in accordance with the text of the said Protocol (the text of the Protocol in English and Russian and Map "A" and four sheets of Map "B" are annexed);

/(b)

(b) submitted the allocation of the North-Western and South-Western zones of occupation in Germany, as indicated in paragraph 2 of the Protocol and shown on map "A" annexed thereto, and similarly the allocation of the North-Western and Southern parts of Greater Berlin, as indicated in the same paragraph of the Protocol and shown on the four sheets of map "B" annexed thereto, for discussion and joint decision by the Governments of the U.S.A., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R.

(c) decided to submit the Protocol between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin", with the annexed map "A" and the four sheets of map "B", to the Governments of the U.S.A., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R. for consideration and approval.

Representative of the Government of the United States of America on the European Advisory Commission

J.G. WINANT

John G. Winant.

Representative of the Government of the United Kingdom on the European Advisory Commission

W. STRANG

William Strang

Representative of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the European Advisory Commission

F.T. GOUSEV

F.T. Gousev

LANCASTER HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

12th September, 1944.

Printed in F.R.U.S. and Conferences at Malta and Yalta 1945 pp. 113-121

[redacted]

PROTOCOL

between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin".

____oOo____

The Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have reached the following agreement with regard to the execution of Article 11 of the Instrument of Unconditional Surrender of Germany :-

1. Germany, within her frontiers as they were on the 31st December, 1937, will, for the purposes of occupation, be divided into three zones, one of which will be allotted to each of the three Powers, and a special Berlin area, which will be under joint occupation by the three Powers.

2. The boundaries of the three zones and of the Berlin area, and the allocation of the three zones as between the U.S.A., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R. will be as follows :-

Eastern Zone (as shewn on the annexed map "A")	The territory of Germany (including the province of East Prussia) situated to the East of a line drawn from the point on Lübeck Bay where the frontiers of Schleswig-Holstein and Mecklenburg meet, along the western frontier of Mecklenburg to the frontier of the province of Hanover, thence, along the eastern frontier of Hanover, to the frontier of Brunswick ; thence along the western frontier of the Prussian province of Saxony to the western frontier of Anhalt ; thence along

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the western frontier of Anhalt ; thence along the western frontier of the Prussian province of Saxony and the western frontier of Thuringia to where the latter meets the Bavarian frontier ; thence eastwards along the northern frontier of Bavaria to the 1937 Czechoslovakian frontier, will be occupied by armed forces of the U.S.S.R., with the exception of the Berlin area, for which a special system of occupation is provided below.

North-Western Zone (as shown on the annexed map "A")

The territory of Germany situated to the west of the line defined above, and bounded on the south by a line drawn from the point where the western frontier of Thuringia meets the frontier of Bavaria ; thence westwards along the southern frontiers of the Prussian provinces of Hessen-Nassau and Rheinprovinz to where the latter meets the frontier of France will be occupied by armed forces of . . . . . .

South-Western Zone (as shown on the annexed map "A")

All the remaining territory of Western Germany situated to the south of the line defined in the description of the North-Western Zone will be occupied by armed forces of . . . . . .

The frontiers of States (Länder) and Provinces within Germany, referred to in the foregoing descriptions of the zones, are those which existed after the coming into effect of the decree of 25th June, 1941 (published in the Reichsgesetzblatt, Part I, No. 72, 3rd July, 1941).

Berlin Area (as shown on the annexed 4 sheets of map "B")

The Berlin area (by which expression is understood the territory of "Greater Berlin" as defined by the Law of the 27th April, 1920) will be jointly occupied by armed forces of the U.S.A., U.K., and U.S.S.R., assigned by the respective Commanders-in-Chief.
For this purpose the territory of "Greater Berlin" will be divided into the following three parts :-

North-Eastern part of "Greater Berlin" (districts of Pankow, Prenzlauerberg, Mitte, Weissensee, Friedrichshain, Lichtenberg, Treptow, Köpenick) will be occupied by the forces of the U.S.S.R. :

North-Western/

North-Eastern part of "Greater Berlin"
(Districts of Reinickendorf, Wedding, Tiergarten, Charlottenburg, Spandau, Wilmersdorf) will be occupied by the forces of . . . . . .

Southern part of "Greater Berlin"
(Districts of Zehlendorf, Steglitz, Schöneberg, Tempelhof, Neukölln) will be occupied by the forces of . . . . . .

The boundaries of districts within "Greater Berlin", referred to in the foregoing descriptions are those which existed after the coming into effect of the decree published on 27th March, 1930 (Amtsblatt der Polizeihauptstadt Berlin No. 13 of 27th March, 1930, page 215).

3. The occupying forces in each of the three zones into which Germany is divided will be under a Commander-in-Chief designated by the Government of the country whose forces occupy that zone.

4. Each of the three Powers may, at its discretion, include among the forces assigned to occupation duties under the command of its Commander-in-Chief, auxiliary contingents from the forces of any other Allied Power which has participated in military operations against Germany.

5. An Inter-Allied Governing Authority (Komendatura) consisting of three Commandants, appointed by their respective Commanders-in-Chief, will be established to direct jointly the administration of the "Greater Berlin" Area.

6. This Protocol has been drawn up in triplicate in the English and Russian languages. Both texts are authentic. The Protocol will come into force on the signature by Germany of the Instrument of Unconditional Surrender.

/The

The above text of the Protocol between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin" has been prepared and unanimously adopted by the European Advisory Commission at a meeting held on this date, 12th, with the once view to the allocation of the North-Eastern and South-East zones of occupation in Germany and the North-Western and Southern parts of "Greater Berlin", which requires further consideration and joint agreement by the Governments of the U.S.A., U.K. and U.S.S.R.

Representative of the Government of the U.S.A. on the European Advisory Commission :	Representative of the Government of the U.K. on the European Advisory Commission :	Representative of the Government of the U.S.S.R. on the European Advisory Commission :
J.G. Winant	W. Strang	F.F. Gousev
John G. Winant	William Strang	F. Gousev

LANCASTER HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

12th September, 1944.

[redacted] E.A.C.(44)9th Meeting
СОЗ.[redacted]/44/9 заседание

ЕВРОПЕЙСКАЯ КОНСУЛЬТАТИВНАЯ КОМИССИЯ.

ПРОТОКОЛ заседания, состоявшегося в Ланкастер Хаус, во вторник 12 сентября 1944 года.

Заседание началось в 17.00,
окончилось в 17.40.

ПРИСУТСТВОВАЛИ:

Г-н Ф.Т. Гусев /Председатель/,
г-н Г.Ф. Саксин,
г-н Н.В. Иванов.

Сэр У. Стрэнг,
Ген.-майор А.В. Андерсон,
г-н К. О'Нилл.

Г-н Д.Г. Вайнант,
Ген.-бригадир В. Мейер,
г-н Ф.Э. Поэли.

СЕКРЕТАРИАТ:

Г-н И.Г. Пригорный,
г-н У.Д. Макафи.

ПОВЕСТКА ДНЯ:

Утверждение текста Протокола Соглашения между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином".

УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ текста Протокола Соглашения между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином".

КОМИССИЯ РЕШИЛА:

а/ утвердить текст Протокола Соглашения между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином", согласованный между Делегациями США, Соединенного Королевства и СССР, с границами зон оккупации Германии и "Большого Берлина", обозначенными на приложенных картах

"А" и "Б", согласно тексту данного Протокола.

/Текст Протокола на английском и русском языках прилагается/;

б/ передать распределение Северо-Западной и Юго-Западной зон оккупации Германии, как они указаны в п. 2 Протокола и обозначены на приложенной к Протоколу карте "А", равно как и распределение Северо-Западной и Южной частей "Большого Берлина", как они указаны в том же пункте Протокола и обозначены на приложенной к Протоколу карте "Б" на четырех листах на обсуждение и совместное решение Правительств США, Соединенного Королевства и СССР.

в/ передать Протокол Соглашения между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином" с приложенными картами "А" и "Б" на рассмотрение и решение Правительств США, Соединенного Королевства и СССР.

Представитель Правительства США в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии:	Представитель Правительства Соединенного Королевства в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии:	Представитель Правительства СССР в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии:
John G. Winant	William Strang	Ф.Т. Гусев
Д.Г. Уайнант.	У. Стрэнг.	Ф.Т. Гусев.

ЛАНКАСТЕР ХАУС,
ЛОНДОН.

12 сентября 1944 года

003

П Р О Т О К О Л

Соглашения между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином".

Правительства Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства Великобритании и Северной Ирландии и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик пришли к следующему соглашению относительно выполнения статьи II Документа о безоговорочной капитуляции Германии:

I. Германия в границах, существовавших на 31 декабря 1937г., будет разделена для целей оккупации на три зоны, по одной из которых будет отведено каждой из трех держав, а также будет выделен особый район Берлина, оккупируемый совместно тремя державами.

2. Границы трех зон и района Берлина, а также распределение трех зон между США, Соединенным Королевством и СССР устанавливаются следующие:

Восточная зона /как показана на прилагаемой карте "А"/. Территория Германии /включая провинцию Восточная Пруссия/, расположенная к востоку от линии, проходящей от пункта на берегу Любекского залива, где сходятся границы Шлезвиг-Гольштейна и Мекленбурга, по западной границе Мекленбурга до границы провинции Ганновер, затем по восточной границе Ганновера до границы Брауншвейга, затем по западной границе прусской провинции Саксония до западной границы Ангальт, далее по западной границе Ангальт, затем по западной границе прусской провинции Саксония и западной границе Тюрингии до пересечения ее с баварской

границей и далее на восток по северной границе Баварии до чехословацкой границы 1937 года, занимается вооруженными силами СССР, за исключением района Берлина, для которого ниже предусматривается особый порядок оккупации.

Северо-западная зона /как показана на прилагаемой карте "А"/. Территория Германии, расположенная к западу от линии, описанной выше, и ограниченная с юга линией, проходящей от пункта пересечения западной границы Тюрингии с границей Баварии, и далее на запад по южным границам прусских провинций Гессен-Нассау и Рейнпровинц до пересечения последней с границей Франции, занимается вооруженными силами .....

Юго-западная зона /как показана на прилагаемой карте "А"/. Вся остальная территория западной Германии, расположенная к югу от линии, указанной в описании сезеро-западной зоны, занимается вооруженными силами .....

В вышеприведенных описаниях зон границы земель /Länder / и провинций внутри Германии являются теми, которые существовали после вступления в силу декрета от 25 июня 1941г. / опубликован в Reichsgesetzblatt, часть I, № 72 от 3 июля 1941г./.

Район Берлина /как показан на прилагаемой карте "Б" на четырех листах/. Район Берлина /под этим выражением подразумевается территория "Большого Берлина", определенная законом от 27 апреля 1920г./ занимается совместно вооруженными силами США, Соединенного Королевства и СССР, выделяемыми соответствующими главнокомандующими. С этой целью территория "Большого Берлина" разделяется на следующие три части:

Северо-восточная часть "Большого Берлина" /районы: Панков, Пренцлауэрберг, Митте, Вейсензее, Фридрихсхайн, Лихтенберг, Трептов, Кепеник/ занимается вооруженными силами СССР;

Северо-западная часть "Большого Берлина" /районы: Рейникендорф, Веддинг, Тиргартен, Шарлоттенбург, Шпандау, Вильмерсдорф/ занимается вооруженными силами .....

Южная часть "Большого Берлина" /районы: Целлендорф, Штеглиц, Зенеберг, Кройцберг, Темпельгоф, Нейкольн/ занимается вооруженными силами .....

В вышеприведенных описаниях границы районов внутри "Большого Берлина" являются теми, которые существовали после вступления в силу декрета, опубликованного 27 марта 1938г. / Amtsblatt der Reichshauptstadt Berlin, № 13 от 27 марта 1938г., стр.215/.

3. Оккупационные вооруженные силы в каждой из трех зон, на которые разделяется Германия, подчиняются главнокомандующему, назначенному правительством той страны, вооруженные силы которой оккупируют данную зону.

4. Каждая из трех держав по своему усмотрению может включать в число вооруженных сил, предназначенных для выполнения оккупационных обязанностей под командованием своего главнокомандующего, вспомогательные контингенты из числа вооруженных сил любой другой союзной державы, которая принимала участие в военных операциях против Германии.

5. Для совместного управления районом "Большого Берлина" создается Межсоюзная Комендатура в составе трех комендантов, назначаемых их соответствующими главнокомандующими.

3. Настоящий Протокол составлен в трех экземплярах, каждый на английском и русском языках. Оба текста аналогичны аутентичными. Протокол вступает в силу одновременно с подписанием Германией Документа о безоговорочной капитуляции.

Вышеприведенный текст Протокола Соглашения между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином" разработан и единогласно принят Европейской Консультативной Комиссией на заседании от 12 сентября 1944 года, за исключением распределения Северо-западной и Юго-западной зон оккупации Германии, а также Северо-западной и южной частей "Большого Берлина", что подлежит дополнительному обсуждению и совместному решению Правительств США, Соединенного Королевства и СССР.

Представитель Правительства США в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии:	Представитель Правительства Соединенного Королевства в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии:	Представитель Правительства СССР в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии:
John G. Winant	William Strang	Ф. Гусев
/Д.Г.ВАЙНАНТ/	/У.СТРЕНГ/	/Ф.Т.ГУСЕВ/

PSF: Germany Feder, 1-44

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 21, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR: Miss Grace Tully

FROM: Jonathan Daniels JD

Senator Kilgore asked me to pass on to the President the attached memorandum written by Henry Hoke, author of "Blackmail". Hoke thinks that it is very important upon the occupation of Germany for the United States to seize a mailing list used by B. R. Hoffman and others in Munich for propaganda purposes in the United States.

I am not sure the President would be interested in it. However, if you think he would like to see it, please pass it on.

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September 14 1944

Memorandum to The President:

If Germany (or the National Socialist Party) is to be prevented from starting all over again ... someone during the first occupation of Germany should be tipped off to:

> Seize the mailing list used by H. R. Hoffman and others in Munich to disrupt German-Americans and others in the United States.

The Allied Governments should also be interested in seizing and destroying the mailing lists used in disrupting other countries by mail ... especially the South American nations.

This may seem to be a small detail ... but if studied carefully the possibilities for maintaining peace are tremendous.

I am attaching a copy of "Black Mail." See paragraphs marked on pages 11, 12, and 13. See also paragraphs on page 69.

It is estimated that the Hoffman set-up in Munich built a mailing list of approximately 250,000 German-Americans with relatives still in Germany. From 1933 on there was a constant flow of propaganda originating in Germany. This large mailing list was broken down into selective units. To a very special list, the Germans sent bundles of propaganda for hand-to-hand distribution. And to selected Americans, special material was shipped for local printing in the United States.

If this mailing list (and others for other countries) were destroyed, it would be nearly impossible for the Germans to start another campaign of disruption by mail.

If any publicity was given to this suggestion, the Nazi leaders would hide their mailing list ... just like the mailing lists of subversive organizations in the United States were hidden after publicity prior to and following the outbreak of war.

We will be very glad to help anyone in authority determine where these lists might be found.

H.

September 25, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Referring to your memorandum of September 15 from Quebec on the postwar treatment of Germany which received the agreement of the Prime Minister and yourself, it occurs to me that several steps should be considered in connection with the adoption of the policy which will be carried out in Germany after its surrender or collapse.

It would seem highly advisable to have the firm agreement of the Governments of Great Britain and the Soviet Union to the policy to be adopted as we have thus far acted on the basis that every action followed with respect to Germany, particularly in the post-hostilities period, would be on an agreed tripartite basis. It has been our understanding that the Soviet Government has also acted on this general assumption, and of course the European Advisory Commission, established by the Moscow Conference, was set up for the purpose of working out the problems of the treatment of Germany. We must realize that the adoption of any other basis of procedure would enormously increase the difficulties and responsibilities not only of our soldiers in the immediate military occupational period but also of our officials in the control period following.

Our information up to the present has been to the effect that the British Government no doubt has ideas of its own with respect to the application of economic controls to Germany, and we have not yet had any indication that the British Government would be in favor of complete eradication of German industrial productive capacity in the Ruhr and Saar. We have no idea as yet what the Soviet Government has in mind. Would it not be well at this time for the State Department to sound out the British and Russian views on the treatment of German industry either through the European Advi[illegible] or otherwise?

Put in Pres. File

September 26, 1944

The President announced today that the Cabinet Committee which he had appointed some time ago to advise him regarding certain aspects of the American policy towards Germany after the collapse or surrender of that country, had completed its responsibility and accomplished its purpose.

In the first place, the Committee has examined and approved the American recommendation to the Combined Chiefs of Staff on the post-surrender directive to General Eisenhower, which represents the American position as to the control of Germany during the period immediately after the collapse of that country.

Secondly, the members of the Committee have submitted to the President their respective views relative to the American position as to what the Allied Powers' long-range policy toward Germany should be. While there are, naturally, differences of approach to this complex and important subject, there has been a large measure of agreement, especially on the fundamental questions of German disarmament, control of German industry and utter destruction of the Nazi Party and all its institutions.

These several memoranda will now receive the consideration of the President and the Secretary of State, and American representatives conferring with our allies in respect to the long-range policy, will be advised of the position of this Government at or appropriate date.

Presented by the Secretary
in person to the President
on October 1, 1944

September 29, 1944

CH

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The Cabinet Committee has not been able to agree upon a statement of American policy for the post-war treatment of Germany. The memorandum presented by the Secretary of the Treasury is decidedly at variance with the views developed in the State Department. In the meantime, I have received your memorandum of September 15, with the statements of views respecting the Ruhr, Saar, etc., and the conversion of Germany into an agricultural and pastoral country, which was formulated at Quebec. This memorandum seems to reflect largely the opinions of the Secretary of the Treasury in the treatment to be accorded Germany. I feel that I should therefore submit to you the line of thought that has been developing in the State Department on this matter.

1. Status of Negotiations with the British and Russians

The instrument of unconditional surrender of Germany has been recommended by the European Advisory Commission and has been formally approved by this Government. It is anticipated that British and Russian approval will be forthcoming. The question of the American and British zones of occupation was, according to your memorandum, worked out at Quebec and there will presumably be no more difficulty over this matter. In the meantime, the European Advisory Commission is going ahead on plans for a tripartite control machinery and military government for Germany during the occupation period. All three governments have submitted proposals which are similar in their general outline. The American proposal contemplates a Supreme Authority consisting of the three Commanding Generals of the U.S., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R., which would coordinate Allied control of Germany and supervise such centralized governmental functions and economic activities as the

three

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three powers deem essential. A Control Council, composed of representatives in equal numbers from each of the three Allied Governments, would be established by the Supreme Allied Authority and will coordinate the administration of military government throughout Germany, including detailed planning for the execution of directives received from the three governments. We expect to have a recommended plan on this from the European Advisory Commission in the near future.

2. Important Problems For Which High Policy Decisions Must Be Worked Out by the Three Governments

The fundamental question to be decided is what kind of a Germany we want and what policy should be put into effect during occupation to attain our objectives. The most important of these problems are set forth below with an explanation of the State Department's views. It should be emphasized, however, that these objectives will have to be worked out with our principal Allies if they are to be applied throughout the German Reich.

(a) Demilitarization of Germany. The complete dissolution of all German armed forces and all Nazi military, para-military and police organizations, and the destruction or scrapping of all arms, ammunition and implements of war should be effected. Further manufacture in Germany of arms, ammunition and implements of war should be prohibited.

(b) Dissolution of the Nazi Party and all affiliated organizations. The Nazi Party should be immediately dissolved. Large groups of particularly objectionable elements, especially the SS and the Gestapo, should be arrested and interned and war criminals should be tried and, if found guilty, executed. Active party members should be excluded from political or civil activity and subject to a number of restrictions. All laws discriminating against persons on grounds of race, color, creed or political opinion should be annulled.

(c) Extensive controls should be maintained over communications, press and propaganda for the purpose of eliminating Nazi doctrines or similar teachings.

(d) Extensive controls over German educational system should be established for the purpose of eliminating all Nazi influence and propaganda.

(e) No

(e) No decision should be taken on the possible partition of Germany (as distinguished from territorial amputations) until we see what the internal situation is and what is the attitude of our principal Allies on this question. We should encourage a decentralization of the German governmental structure and if any tendencies toward spontaneous partition of Germany arise they should not be discouraged.

(f) Economic Objectives. The primary and continuing objectives of our economic policy are: (1) to render Germany incapable of waging war, and (2) to eliminate permanently German economic domination of Europe. A shorter term objective is to require the performance by Germany of acts of restitution and reparation for injuries done to the United Nations.

To achieve the first two objectives, it will be essential (1) to destroy all factories incapable of conversion to peaceful purposes and to prevent their reconstruction, (2) to enforce the conversion of all other plants, (3) to eliminate self-sufficiency by imposing reforms that will make Germany dependent upon world markets, (4) to establish controls over foreign trade and key industries for the purpose of preventing German rearmament, and (5) to eliminate the position of power of large industrialists and land-owners.

This Government has little direct interest in obtaining reparations from Germany and no interest in building up German economy in order to collect continuing reparations. However, the U.S.S.R. and a number of other states which have been victims of German destruction and exploitation may press claims for German production and labor service for rehabilitation and construction.

Extensive controls over industry and foreign trade will be essential during the immediate period of demilitarization and dismantlement, as well as during the period of reparations. After this phase, a system of control and supervision of German industry and trade will have to be worked out in the light of world security developments. This system should be of such a character that the victor powers will be able and willing to enforce it over a considerable period.

It is of the highest importance that the standard of living of the German people in the early years be such as to bring home to them that they have lost the war and to impress on them that they must abandon all their pretentious theories that they are a superior race created to govern the world. Through lack of luxuries we may teach them that war does not pay.

Printed in Foreign Relations of the United States, 1944, Vol. 1, General, pp. 344-346.

PSF Germany

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

[October 1, 1944]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The Cabinet Committee has not been able to agree upon a statement of American policy for the post-war treatment of Germany. The memorandum presented by the Secretary of the Treasury is decidedly at variance with the views developed in the State Department. In the meantime, I have received your memorandum of September 18, with the statements of views respecting the Ruhr, Saar, etc., and the conversion of Germany into an agricultural and pastoral country, which was formulated at Quebec. This memorandum seems to reflect largely the opinions of the Secretary of the Treasury in the treatment to be accorded Germany. I feel that I should therefore submit to you the line of thought that has been developing in the State Department on this matter.

1. Terms of Armistice with the British and Russians

The instrument of unconditional surrender of Germany has been recommended by the European Advisory Commission and has been formally approved by this Government. It is anticipated that British and Russian approval will be forthcoming. The question of the American and British zones of occupation was, according to your memorandum, worked out at Quebec and there will presumably be no more difficulty over this matter. In the meantime, the European Advisory Commission is going ahead on plans for a tri-partite control machinery and military government for Germany during the occupation period. All three governments have submitted proposals which are similar in their general outline. The American proposal contemplates a Supreme Authority consisting of the three Commanding Generals of the U.S., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R., which would coordinate Allied control of Germany and supervise such centralized governmental functions and economic activities as the

three

Printed in Foreign Relations of the United States, 1944, Vol. 1, General, pp. 344-346.

PSF Germany

REGRADED UNCLASSIFIED

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

[October 1, 1944]

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three

(c) No decision should be taken on the possible partition of Germany (as distinguished from territorial reputation) until we see what the internal situation is and what is the attitude of our principal Allies on this question. We should encourage a decentralization of the German governmental structure and if any tendencies toward spontaneous partition of Germany arise they should not be discouraged.

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To achieve the first two objectives, it will be essential (1) to destroy all factories incapable of conversion to peaceful purposes and to prevent their reconstruction, (2) to enforce the conversion of all other plants, (3) to eliminate self-sufficiency by imposing reforms that will make Germany dependent upon world markets, (4) to establish controls over foreign trade and key industries for the purpose of preventing German rearmament, and (5) to eliminate the position of power of large industrialists and land-owners.

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It is of the highest importance that the standard of living of the German people in the early years be such as to bring home to them that they have lost the war and to impress on them that they must abandon all their pretentious theories that they are a superior race created to govern the world. Through lack of luxuries we may teach them that war does not pay.

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September 29, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

I do not think that at the present stage any good purpose would be served by having the State Department or any other department sound out the British and Russian views on the treatment of German industry. Least certainly it should not be taken up with the European Advisory Commission which, in a case like this, is on a tertiary and not even a secondary level.

The real rub of the situation is to keep Germany from going into complete bankruptcy at the end of the war.

Somebody has been talking not only out of turn to the papers or on facts which are not substantially true.

The idea to make Germany a wholly agrarian land again, and put somebody down who has leaked this out to the press. I wish we could catch and chastise him.

You know that before the war Germany was not only building up war manufactures, but was also building up enough of a foreign trade to finance rearmament sufficiently and still maintain large international credit to keep out of international bankruptcy.

I don't see how we can go along with the idea of making the British empire collapse financially, and at the same time building up a potential enemy that would be able to make another war possible in twenty years. Mere inspection of factories will not prevent that.

As to one wants "complete eradication of German industrial productive capacity in the Ruhr and Saar".

It is possible, however, in these two particulars ways to enforce rather complete conditions. Also, it must not be forgotten that out side of the Ruhr and Saar, Germany has many other plants and facilities for turning out large amounts.

In regard to the Soviet government, it is true that we have no idea as yet what they [illegible] in mind, but we have to remember that in the occupied territory they will do more or less [illegible] they wish. We cannot afford to get [illegible] position of merely recording protests on any point unless there is some chance of some of our protests being heeded.

I do not intend by this to break off or delay negotiations with the Soviet government over lend-lease either on the contract basis or on the proposed Fourth Protocol basis. This, however, does not immediately concern the German [illegible] future.

F. D. R.

Send to the President
before he sees the
Secy of War — Hull

Talked to FDR - Skinner 9/5, 9/15, 9/22

PSF Stimson
9/26/40

SECRET

PSF: Germany

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

September 26, 1944.

My dear Mr. President:

When I returned to Woodley last Sunday afternoon, I found a beautiful bunch of roses with a very kind card from you indicating that you had remembered my birthday. Birthdays at my age are not desirable memorabilia, but the kindness which lay behind the gift was very touching to me. I thank you greatly.

I also found your memorandum of September 22nd asking me to speak to you the next time I saw you about my memorandum of September 15th in respect to Germany. I should have gone to see you at once but found that you were in Hyde Park. The publicity which has been excited over this matter is of course most deplorable, but fortunately from the mutually contradictory forms of the rumors even an outsider can recognize that probably none of them are accurate. In the meanwhile we all, from the State Department, the Treasury, and my own Department, have been going ahead in an attempt to make progress on the immediate steps before us without any further disagreement. I am happy to say that we have all three Departments agreed upon a form of post-surrender interim directive to General Eisenhower which, after it is cleared by the British, can be sent at once to him without further disagreement. Harry Hopkins has seen it and approved it. I think it will be a step in the right direction. It does not attempt to conclude any of the long distance future steps about which we may have different opinions.

SECRET

I was sorry to learn from Bob Patterson that you had been worried by rumors as to what the Army Pearl Harbor Board might find in its report. The Congressional Joint Resolution directing the creation of such a board was passed while I was in Europe, and the Board was appointed before I returned. I looked into the matter and found that the members had been selected by the General Staff from a careful study of the persons available and with an eye to the selection of responsible men representing the three elements of the Ground Forces, the Air Forces, and the National Guard. Each member had a good record. After its selection it had been approved by Marshall.

I found awaiting me a request to appear before it. I postponed my appearance until now in order that I should have time to make a careful study of the documents and thus make an appearance which would answer any possible false rumors that have arisen. This work has occupied a good deal of my time during the past week or ten days, but this morning I was before the Board for two hours and a half, and I think satisfied them on the subject matter of some of these speculations. One can never tell but I felt at the end of the hearing that they were satisfied with my account of the sequence of the events. I had the advantage which, so far as I know, none of the other witnesses have had of having kept a daily account of my meetings and work during that critical period so that my testimony was all based upon records and thus lifted above the danger of faulty memory. For myself, I can hardly imagine a picture of more close cooperation and anxious desire to warn our outposts of impending attack than was shown by this documented

record. According to my memory, you were yourself so painstakingly on the job throughout that period that I should be greatly distressed if you were victimized now by ignorant or malicious rumors. It has been my feeling that the best way to avoid such erroneous findings as you evidently feared was to meet with the Board and give them the true facts. I hope that it worked.

Faithfully yours,

Henry L. Stimson

Secretary of War.

The President,
The White House.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 22, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF WAR:

Will you speak to me about your memorandum of September fifteenth the next time we see each other?

F.D.R.

SECRET

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

This document has been printed in full in Senate Internal Security Subcommittee print, 90th Congress 1st Session, Morgenthau Diary (Germany), vol. 1, pp. 621-623.

September 15, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Since the meeting with you on September 9th attended by the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Hopkins, and myself, I have had an opportunity to read the latest papers submitted to you by the Secretary of the Treasury on the treatment of Germany. There is no need to make any extended or detailed reply to these papers. My views have already been submitted to you in other memoranda. I merely wish to reiterate briefly that I still feel that the course proposed by the Treasury would in the long run certainly defeat what we hope to attain by a complete military victory,- that is, the peace of the world, and the assurance of social, economic and political stability in the world.

The point of difference is not one of objective, - continued world peace - it is one of means. When we discuss means, the difference is not whether we should be soft or tough on the German people, but rather

SECRET

whether the course proposed will in fact best attain our agreed objective, continued peace.

If I thought that the Treasury proposals would accomplish that objective, I would not persist in my objections. But I cannot believe that they will make for a lasting peace. In spirit and in emphasis they are punitive, not, in my judgment, corrective or constructive. They will tend through bitterness and suffering to breed another war, not to make another war undesired by the Germans nor impossible in fact. It is not within the realm of possibility that a whole nation of seventy million people, who have been outstanding for many years in the arts and the sciences and who through their efficiency and energy have attained one of the highest industrial levels in Europe, can by force be required to abandon all their previous methods of life, be reduced to a peasant level with virtually complete control of industry and science left to other peoples.

The question is not whether we want Germans to suffer for their sins. Many of us would like to see them suffer the tortures they have inflicted on others. The only question is whether over the years a group of

seventy million educated, efficient and imaginative people can be kept within bounds on such a low level of subsistence as the Treasury proposals contemplate. I do not believe that is humanly possible. A subordinate question is whether even if you could do this it is good for the rest of the world either economically or spiritually. Sound thinking teaches that prosperity in one part of the world helps to create prosperity in other parts of the world. It also teaches that poverty in one part of the world usually induces poverty in other parts. Enforced poverty is even worse, for it destroys the spirit not only of the victim but debases the victor. It would be just such a crime as the Germans themselves hoped to perpetrate upon their victims--it would be a crime against civilization itself.

This country since its very beginning has maintained the fundamental belief that all men, in the long run, have the right to be free human beings and to live in the pursuit of happiness. Under the Atlantic Charter victors and vanquished alike are entitled to freedom from economic want. But the proposed treatment of Germany would, if successful, deliberately deprive

many millions of people of the right to freedom from want and freedom from fear. Other peoples all over the world would suspect the validity of our spiritual tenets and question the long range effectiveness of our economic and political principles as applied to the vanquished.

The proposals would mean a forcible revolution in all of the basic methods of life of a vast section of the population as well as a disruption of many accustomed geographical associations and communications. Such an operation would naturally and necessarily involve a chaotic upheaval in the people's lives which would inevitably be productive of the deepest resentment and bitterness towards the authorities which had imposed such revolutionary changes upon them. Physically, considering the fact that their present enlarged population has been developed and supported under an entirely different geography and economy, it would doubtless cause tremendous suffering involving virtual starvation and death for many, and migrations and changes for others. It would be very difficult, if not impossible, for them to understand

any purpose or cause for such revolutionary changes other than mere vengeance of their enemies and this alone would strongly tend towards the most bitter reactions.

I am prepared to accede to the argument that even if German resources were wiped off the map, the European economy would somehow readjust itself, perhaps with the help of Great Britain and this country. And the world would go on. The benefit to England by the suppression of German competition is greatly stressed in the Treasury memorandum. But this is an argument addressed to a shortsighted cupidity of the victors and the negation of all that Secretary Hull has been trying to accomplish since 1933. I am aware of England's need, but I do not and cannot believe that she wishes this kind of remedy. I feel certain that in herown interest she could not afford to follow this path. The total elimination of a competitor (who is always also a potential purchaser) is rarely a satisfactory solution of a commercial problem.

The sum total of the drastic political and economic steps proposed by the Treasury is an open

confession of the bankruptcy of hope for a reasonable economic and political settlement of the causes of war.

I plead for no "soft" treatment of Germany. I urge only that we take steps which in the light of history are reasonably adapted to our purpose, namely, the prevention of future wars. The Carthaginian aspect of the proposed plan would, in my judgment, provoke a reaction on the part of the people in this country and in the rest of the world which would operate not only against the measures advocated but in its violence would sweep away the proper and reasonable restrictive measures that we could justifiably impose.

I have already indicated in my memorandum of September 9, 1944, the lines along which I would recommend that we should go pending further light on other questions which can only be obtained after we have acquired greater knowledge of conditions and trends within Germany as well as of the views and intentions of our Allies.

Henry L. Stimson

Secretary of War

~~SECRET~~

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

This document is printed in full in Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee print, 90th Congress, 1st Session, Morgenthau Diary (Germany), vol. 1, pp. 612-615.

Memorandum for the President

September 9, 1944

Our discussions relate to a matter of method entirely; our objective is the same. It is not a question of a soft treatment of Germany or a harsh treatment of Germany. We are all trying to devise protection against recurrence by Germany of her attempts to dominate the world. We differ as to method. The fundamental remedy of Mr. Morgenthau is to provide that the industry of Germany shall be substantially obliterated. Although expressed only in terms of the Ruhr, the fact of the matter is that the Ruhr and the adjacent territories which Mr. Morgenthau would include in his program constitute, particularly after the amputations that are proposed, the core of German industry. His proposition is

> "the total destruction of the whole German armament industry and the removal or destruction of other key industries which are basic to military strength."

In speaking of the Ruhr and surrounding industrial areas, he says:

> "This area should not only be stripped of all presently existing industries but so weakened and controlled that it cannot in the foreseeable future become an industrial area--all industrial plants and equipment not destroyed

~~SECRET~~

> by military action shall either be completely dismantled or removed from the area or completely destroyed, all equipment shall be removed from the mines and the mines shall be thoroughly wrecked."

I am unalterably opposed to such a program for the reasons given in my memorandum dated September 5 which is already before the President. I do not think that the reasons there stated need again be elaborated. In substance, my point is that these resources constitute a natural and necessary asset for the productivity of Europe. In a period when the world is suffering from destruction and from want of production, the concept of the total obliteration of these values is to my mind wholly wrong. My insistence is that these assets be conserved and made available for the benefit of the whole of Europe, including particularly Great Britain. The internationalization of the Ruhr or the trusteeship of its products--I am not prepared at the moment to discuss details of method--constitutes a treatment of the problem in accord with the needs and interests of the world. To argue that we are incapable of sustained effort to control such wealth within proper channels is to destroy any hope for the future of the

world. I believe that the education furnished us by the Germans in two world wars, plus the continuity of interest which such a trusteeship would stimulate is sufficient insurance that we can be trusted to deal with the problem. The unnatural destruction of this industry would, on the other hand, be so certain, in my judgment, to provoke sympathy for the Germans that we would create friends both in this country and abroad for the Germans, whereas now most of the peoples of the world are thoroughly antipathetic to them.

The other fundamental point upon which I feel we differ is the matter of the trial and punishment of those Germans who are responsible for crimes and depredations. Under the plan proposed by Mr. Morgenthau, the so-called arch-criminals shall be put to death by the military without provision for any trial and upon mere identification after apprehension. The method of dealing with these and other criminals requires careful thought and a well-defined procedure. Such procedure must embody, in my judgment, at least the rudimentary aspects of the Bill of Rights, namely, notification to the accused of the charge, the right to be heard and, within reasonable limits, to call witnesses in his defense. I do not

mean to favor the institution of state trials or to introduce any cumbersome machinery but the very punishment of these men in a dignified manner consistent with the advance of civilization, will have all the greater effect upon posterity. Furthermore, it will afford the most effective way of making a record of the Nazi system of terrorism and of the effort of the Allies to terminate the system and prevent its recurrence.

I am disposed to believe that at least as to the chief Nazi officials, we should participate in an international tribunal constituted to try them. They should be charged with offences against the laws of the rules of war in that they have committed wanton and unnecessary cruelties in connection with the prosecution of the war. This law of the Rules of War has been upheld by our own Supreme Court and will be the basis of judicial action against the Nazis.

Even though these offences have not been committed against our troops, I feel that our moral position is better if we take our share in their conviction. Other war criminals who have committed crimes in subjugated

territory should be returned in accordance with the Moscow Declaration to those territories for trial by national military commissions having jurisdiction of the offence under the same Rules of War. I have great difficulty in finding any means whereby military commissions may try and convict those responsible for excesses committed within Germany both before and during the war which have no relation to the conduct of the war. I would be prepared to construe broadly what constituted a violation of the Rules of War but there is a certain field in which I fear that external courts cannot move. Such courts would be without jurisdiction in precisely the same way that any foreign court would be without jurisdiction to try those who were guilty of, or condoned, lynching in our own country.

The above are the two main points with which I differ from the proposed program submitted by the Secretary of the Treasury.

Partition

I have an open mind on partition and although I have given the matter substantial consideration I have,

as yet, come to no conclusion as to wisdom or method of partition. I feel we cannot deal effectively with that subject until we have had an interchange of views with the English and the Russians. I, myself, seek further light on this subject. I, certainly, would not discourage any spontaneous effort toward separation of the country into two or more groups.

Amputation

I understand that there is some general recognition of the probability of Russia or the Poles taking East Prussia and some parts of Silesia. I suggest that we interpose no objection to this but that we take no part in the administration of the area. On the Western border the primary question is the matter of dealing with the Ruhr but it has also been suggested that the Rhineland and the Saar be delivered to France. Naturally I am in favor of the automatic return of Alsace and Lorraine to France but though my mind is not irrevocably closed against it, I feel that the burden of proof lies on those who suggest giving France more territory. She will come out of this war with her Empire practically intact, with a reduced population and already possessing

a very valuable bit of ore in the Longwy Briey area. To give her a substantial territory of German-speaking and German-bred people would create another problem in the balance of Europe. To counteract this, I would give France a share in the benefits of the internationalization of the Saar and the Ruhr and the advantage which this gives of what would in effect be an international barrier between France and Germany.

There are certain other methods of punishment affecting the personal lives of individual Germans proposed by the Secretary of the Treasury to which I am opposed as constituting irritations of no fundamental value and, indeed, of considerable danger, but these are primarily matters of administration which I think need not be discussed at this time. In some part, at least, they had best be determined by those who have the primary responsibility for the administration of the occupation.

As a suggestion, I propose that during the interim period, which is all that we can deal with at the moment, the President be recommended to approve a program generally in accord with the memorandum submitted by

the Secretary of State at the meeting of the Cabinet Committee on Tuesday, September 5, except for a modification of subparagraph 2(h) of that memorandum and certain other ~~conditions~~ slight modifications on which I hope we can all agree, which suggested changes I append hereto.

Henry L. Stimson

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1944
Recd - 9/5

The Honorable
The Secretary of State
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

With minor reservations about language which do not affect the intent of the document, "Suggested Recommendations on Treatment of Germany from the Cabinet Committee for the President", I approve of it.

If there be agreement on policies, then it becomes of the utmost importance for the proper Government Officials to indicate how the policies in this document are to be implemented.

Sincerely yours,

HARRY L. HOPKINS

WAR DEPARTMENT
WASHINGTON

September 5, 1944.

My dear Mr. Secretary:

I enclose here my comment on the "Suggested Recommendations on the Treatment of Germany from the Cabinet Committee for the President" which we discussed this morning at our meeting.

I should be very much obliged if you would convey it with the paper in question to the President as was proposed this morning.

Very sincerely yours,

Henry L. Stimson

Secretary of War.

Hon. Cordell Hull,
The Secretary of State.

This document is printed in fu
in Senate Internal Security Sub-
Committee print, 90th Congress,
1st Session, Morgenthau Diary
(Germany), vol. 1, pp. 530-532.

HLS 9/5/44.

I have considered the paper entitled "Suggested Recommendations on Treatment of Germany from the Cabinet Committee for the President", dated September 4th, submitted to the Committee by the Secretary of State and have discussed it with my colleagues on the Committee.

With the exception of the last paragraph I find myself in agreement with the principles stated therein and they are in conformity with the lines upon which we have been proceeding in the War Department in our directives to the Armed Forces.

The last paragraph, however, is as follows:

> "h. The primary objectives of our economic policy are (1) the standard of living of the German population shall be held down to subsistence levels; (2) German economic position of power in Europe must be eliminated; (3) German economic capacity must be converted in such manner that it will be so dependent upon imports and exports that Germany cannot by its own devices reconvert to war production".

While certain of these statements by themselves may possibly be susceptible of a construction with which I would not be at variance, the construction put upon them at the disucssion this morning certainly reached positions to which I am utterly opposed. The position frankly taken by

some of my colleagues was that the great industrial regions of Germany known as the Saar and the Ruhr with their very important deposits of coal and ore should be totally transformed into a non-industrialized area of agricultural land.

I cannot conceive of such a proposition being either possible or effective and I can see enormous general evils coming from an attempt to so treat it. During the past eighty years of European history this portion of Germany was one of the most important sources of the raw materials upon which the industrial and economic livelihood of Europe was based. Upon the production which came from the raw materials of this region during those years, the commerce of Europe was very largely predicated. Upon that production Germany became the largest sources of supply to no less than ten European countries, viz: Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Italy, Austria-Hungary, Romania, and Bulgaria; and the second largest source of supply to Great Britain, Belgium, and France. By the same commerce, which in large part arose from this production, Germany also became the best buyer or customer of Russia, Norway, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, and Austria-Hungary; and the second best

customer of Great Britain, Sweden, and Denmark. The production of these materials from this region could not be sealed up and obliterated as was proposed this morning, without manifestly causing a great dislocation to the trade upon which Europe has lived. In Germany itself this commerce has built up since 1870 a population of approximately thirty million more people than were ever supported upon the agricultural soil of Germany alone. Undoubtedly a similar growth of population took place in the nations which indirectly participated in the commerce based upon this production.

I cannot treat as realistic the suggestion that such an area in the present economic condition of the world can be turned into a non-productive "ghost territory" when it has become the center of one of the most industrialized continents in the world, populated by peoples of energy, vigor and progressiveness.

I can conceive of endeavoring to meet the misuse which Germany has recently made of this production by wise systems of control or trusteeship or even transfers of ownership to other nations. But I cannot conceive of turning such a gift of nature into a dust heap.

War is destruction. This war more than any previous war has caused gigantic destruction. The need for the recuperative benefits of productivity is more evident now than ever before throughout the world. Not to speak of Germany at all or even her satellites, our Allies in Europe will feel the need of the benefit of such productivity if it should be destroyed. Moreover, speed of reconstruction is of great importance, if we hope to avoid dangerous convulsions in Europe.

We contemplate the transfer from Germany of ownership of East Prussia, Upper Silesia, Alsace and Lorraine (each of them except the first containing raw materials of importance) together with the imposition of general economic controls. We also are considering the wisdom of a possible partition of Germany into north and south sections, as well as the creation of an internationalized State in the Ruhr. With such precuations, or indeed with only some of them, it certainly should not be necessary for us to obliterate all industrial productivity in the Ruhr area, in order to preclude its future misuse.

Nor can I agree that it should be one of our purposes to hold the German population "to a subsistence level" if this means the edge of poverty.

condemning the German people to a condition of servitude in which, no matter how hard or how effectively a man worked, he could not materially increase his economic condition in the world. Such a program would, I believe, create tensions and resentments far outweighing any immediate advantage of security and would tend to obscure the guilt of the Nazis and the viciousness of their doctrines and their acts.

By such economic mistakes I cannot but feel that you would also be poisoning the springs out of which we hope that the future peace of the world can be maintained.

It is primarily by the thorough apprehension, investigation, and trial of all the Nazi leaders and instruments of the Nazi system of terrorism, such as the Gestapo, with punishment delivered as promptly, swiftly, and severely as possible, that we can demonstrate the abhorrence which the world has for such a system and bring home to the German people our determination to extirpate it and all its fruits forever.

My basic objection to the proposed methods of treating Germany which were discussed this morning was that in addition to a system of preventive and educative punishment they would add the dangerous weapon of [illegible]

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oppression. Such methods, in my opinion, do not prevent war; they tend to breed war.

Henry L. Stimson

Insert at beginning of rewrite paragraph 2 (b)

"Dissolution of the Nazi Party and all its affiliated and associated organizations should be effected immediately and .....

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This document is printed in full in Senate Internal Security Subcommittee print, 90th Congress, 1st Session, Morgenthau Diary (Germany), vol. 1, pp. 615-616.

SECRET

File

September 9, 1944

SUGGESTED CHANGES IN CABINET COMMITTEE RECOMMENDATIONS
AS STATED IN PAPER SEPTEMBER 4 1944.
Already submitted to the Secy of State

To paragraph 2(a) should be added the following:

"At least for an indefinite period Germany shall be denied the means or power to manufacture or design aeroplanes or gliders of any sort whether military, commercial or private, and Germany shall have no license to operate any airlines. During this period no schools or courses for the study of air flight in any form shall be permitted.

All machines, plants and other instruments which are peculiarly adapted to the manufacture of arms and lethal weapons of any sort shall be dismantled or destroyed."

Paragraph 2(b) should be rewritten to read as follows:

"All members of the Gestapo, viz., the so-called security or political police, prominent Nazis in whatever activity they may have operated, substantially if not all members of the S.S. organizations, and others who are suspected of having taken part in or had responsibility for the perpetration of war crimes, should be apprehended and held for further disposition. Prompt and summary trials shall be held of those charged with such crimes and punishment should be swift and severe.

Studies should be instituted at once to determine

SECRET

the procedures to be followed in such trials, and they should be cleared with the British, Russians, and French as quickly as possible, so that they can be communicated to the appropriate occupying authorities without delay.

All laws discriminating against persons on grounds of race, color, creed, political activity or opinion, should be annulled."

To Paragraph (e) should be added the following:

"The territories of Germany which are to be ceded to other countries are understood to be all or most of East Prussia and some parts of Silesia. The question of the Rhineland and the Saar is closely connected with the treatment of the Ruhr. We recommend as the present view of the United States that a strong control over the products of this area must be maintained by means of some form of international trusteeship of its products and resources. It should not be obliterated as an industrial productive center, but it must be actively managed by others than Germans and otherwise completely taken from German domination.

On the other hand no efforts shall be made to rebuild any of the destroyed plants in Germany until permission is given by appropriate Allied or United Nations authority."

Substitute for paragraph (h) the following:

"The primary objectives of our economic policy are: (1) the permanent elimination of German economic domination in Europe and (2) the conversion of German economic capacity in such manner that it will be so dependent upon imports and exports that Germany cannot by its own devices reconvert to war production."

Henry L. Stimson

R-Sect 6

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

September 6, 1944

My dear Cordell:

I was delighted at the attitude which you expressed yesterday in regard to the treatment of the German people.

We here in the Treasury have prepared a much more detailed memorandum, and I feel that it might serve a useful purpose if the President were given a copy of it. I am also enclosing a copy for yourself.

With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Henry

Honorable Cordell Hull,
Secretary of State,
Washington, D.C.

This letter is printed in Senate Internal Security Subcommittee print, 90th Congress, 1st Session, Morgenthau Diary (Germany), vol. I, p. 547.

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PRESIDENT'S SECRETARY'S FILE:
Diplomatic Correspondence w/ Germany: Oct 1944-45

PSF: Germany ~~Subject File~~

File

October 19, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR MISS GRACE TULLY

In connection with the attached proposed draft of a statement, I would like to speak to you about it when you get a chance.

I will call you shortly after you receive it.

Oscar Cox

Attachment

Withdrawn to Library

PSF: Germany

Draft
October 19, 1944

The Secretary of War, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury and the Foreign Economic Administrator announced that:

1. Mr. Dewey's statement about the lack of plans for the occupation of Germany is inaccurate.

2. Beginning about a year ago plans were started in the American Government to work out a joint and unified policy by the War Department, Navy Department, State, Treasury, Foreign Economic Administration and the other interested departments and agencies.

3. Contrary to popular speculation, the basic plans to be used immediately after the occupation of Germany were worked out and unanimously agreed upon by all the interested agencies of the United States Government months before any American soldiers set foot in Germany. All of the pre-surrender terms and the directives to be used by the American military were worked out in concrete form even before this.

4. The proclamation issued by General Eisenhower as Allied Commander was based on the agreed pre-surrender plans and on the other plans for the occupation of Germany as were his orders for the abolition of the Nazi racial, sterilization, concentration camp and other similar Nazi laws and institutions.

5. The detailed plans for the unconditional surrender of Germany have been worked out not only in the American Government but with our Allies.

6. The long range plans dealing with what should be done over a period of years to control Germany's will, power and capacity to make war have been worked on for a long time in the American and in the Allied governments but no final decisions can obviously be made on all phases of this problem until the relevant facts are known about what the conditions are in Germany after it is completely defeated.

7. If the Germans senselessly continue their resistance, in view of the certainty of victory, they will invite increased destruction of their industries and their economic system by Allied bombers and Allied land forces. A good part of Germany's industrial and economic system has already been destroyed or damaged by the Allied air forces. The destruction from bombing raids continues to mount. Now with land fighting on German soil, the Germans, as illustrated at Aachen, are inviting further and more devastating destruction by United Nations artillery and other land force action. If, in addition to this destruction which the Germans are bringing on themselves, they wantonly follow a scorched earth policy, the destruction of the German industrial and economic system will be even greater and more complete.

When we and our Allies know with definiteness how much the Germans have destroyed their own industrial and economic system, we will know better what to do about it.

8. One central thing is clear. Our plans do not envisage the destruction or enslavement of the German people; but they do envisage effective control to insure that the Germans will not have the will, power and capacity to make war again.

9. Based on this central principle, the available facts and the alternative possibilities depending upon the length of the war against Germany and what the Germans do to destroy their industrial and economic system, work on the long range plans both in the United States Government and the Allied Governments is moving along as speedily as possible.

Lock Box

[Original found filed in PSF/State Dept.: Hall]

Please file this
away & bring it to
me on my return —
The P. Limit had a
chance to look over it —

In case the Secretary
of the Treasury asks —
GST

Sink this in file
12-22

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

October 10, 1944

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

Referring to the memorandum on the treatment of Germany which I left with you on October 1, 1944, I enclose a copy of a telegram of October 7, 1944, which has been received from Ambassador Winant in London, in which he emphasizes the absolute necessity for him to receive policy guidance from this Government in his negotiations in the European Advisory Commission to be effective, and the very grave difficulties in which he is now placed by reason of the lack of guidance, in reaching decisions on the positions of the Government on important pending matters.

It would be possible for the State Department to give him this guidance more promptly if we could have the benefit of a decision as to the general policy outlined in the memorandum which I left with you on October 1, a copy of which is attached for your convenience.

Enclosures:
1. Copy of memorandum, September 29, 1944;
2. Copy of telegram 6125, October 7, 1944.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

[redacted]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

The Cabinet Committee has not been able to [illegible] a statement of American policy for the post-war [illegible] of Germany. The memorandum presented by the Secretary of the Treasury is decidedly at variance with views developed in the State Department. [illegible] Since, I have received your memorandum of September 15, [illegible] the statements of views respecting the future [illegible] and the conversion of Germany into an agricultural [illegible] country, which was formulated at Quebec. [illegible] memorandum seems to reflect largely the opinions [illegible] of the Treasury in the treatment [illegible] a/. I feel that I should therefore [illegible] the line of thought that has been developing [illegible] State Department on this matter.

[illegible]

The instrument of unconditional surrender [illegible] has been recommended by the European Advisory Commission [illegible] and has been formally approved by this Government. It is [illegible] that British and Russian [illegible] coming. The question of the American and British [illegible] of occupation [illegible], according to your memorandum, [illegible] out to Quebec and there will [illegible] [illegible] over this nation. In the meantime, the [illegible] Germany would [illegible] [illegible] the control machinery and military government [illegible] during the occupation period. All [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] The American military commanders [illegible] [illegible] of the Three Governments [illegible] U.S., the U.K. and the U.S.S.R., which would [illegible] [illegible] of security and supervise such [illegible] [illegible] functions and economic activities [illegible]

[illegible]

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-73
By [illegible] Date FEB [illegible]

[illegible] personnel. A Control Council, composed [illegible] by [illegible] numbers from each of the three [illegible] Powers, would be established by the Powers [illegible] and would coordinate the administration of military government throughout Germany, including compliance with the execution of directives received from the three governments. We expect to have a recommended plan of this from the European Advisory Commission in the near future.

[illegible] Policies For Which
[illegible] Decisions Must Be Worked
Out by the Three Governments

The fundamental question to be decided is what kind of a Germany we want and what policy should be put into effect during occupation to attain our objectives. The most important of these problems are set forth below with an indication of the State Department's views. It should be emphasized, however, that these objectives will have to be [illegible] with our principal Allies if they are to be [illegible] throughout the German Reich.

(a) [illegible] of Germany. The complete disarmament of Germany should [illegible] and all Nazi military, [illegible] organizations, and the destruction or [illegible] of the army, ammunition and implements of war [illegible] be collected. Further manufacture in Germany of arms, ammunition and implements of war should be prohibited.

(b) Elimination of the Nazi Party and all [illegible] activity. The Nazi Party should be immediately dissolved. Large groups of particularly objectionable elements, including the SS and the Gestapo, should be arrested and [illegible] war criminals should be tried and, if found guilty, executed. Active party members should be excluded from political or civil activity and subject to a number of restrictions. All laws discriminating against persons on grounds of race, color, creed or political opinion should be repealed.

(c) Extensive controls should be maintained over [illegible] organizations, media and movements for the purpose of eliminating Nazi doctrines or similar teachings.

(d) Extensive controls over foreign education [illegible] be established for the purpose of eliminating all Nazi influence and propaganda.

(e) No

[illegible]

(e) [illegible] in the [illegible] for [illegible] from territories [illegible] would [illegible] the liberal situation [illegible] of our national allies on this [illegible]. [illegible] would [illegible] a decentralization of the German [illegible] and [illegible] tendencies toward [illegible] partition of Germany unless they should not be discouraged.

(f) Economic Objectives. The primary and secondary objectives of our economic policy are: (1) to render Germany incapable of waging war, and (2) to obtain the [illegible] economic denazification of Europe. A shorter term objective is to insure the performance by Germany of rules of [illegible] and reparation for injuries done to the United Nations.

To achieve the first two objectives, it will be necessary (1) to destroy all industries susceptible of conversion to military purposes and to prevent their reconstruction, (2) to enforce the conversion of all other plants, (3) to eliminate self-sufficiency by imposing reforms that will [illegible] Germany dependent upon world markets, (4) to [illegible] [illegible] and key industries for the purpose of preventing German rearmament, and (5) to [illegible] [illegible] of power of large industrialists and landowners.

Both [illegible] has little direct interest in rehabilitating [illegible] Germany and no interest in building it [illegible] in order to collect continuing reparations [illegible] U.S.S.R. and a number of other [illegible] [illegible] of German destruction and exploitation [illegible] plans for German production and labor [illegible] rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Extensive controls over industry and foreign trade will be essential during the immediate period of demilitarization and disarmament, as well as during the period of occupation. After this phase, a system of control and revision of German industry and trade will have to be worked out in the light of world security developments. This system should be of such a character that the Allied Powers will be able and willing to enforce it over a considerable period.

It is of the highest importance that the attitude of the German people in the early years be such as to bring home to them that they have lost the war, to make them feel that they must abandon all their previous ideas that they are a superior race created to rule the world. Through lack of luxuries we may teach them what war is and not may.

[redacted]

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72
By _____ Date FEB 9 1974

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

OFFICE OF
COORDINATION AND REVIEW

October 30, 1944

Miss Tully:

Dr. Shotwell has asked that I send this memorandum to you and tell you that there is considerable urgency about it.

R. Walsh

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72
By [illegible] Date FEB 9 1972

October 27, 1944

[redacted]

PROPAGANDA TO GERMANY

MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

I am enclosing a paraphrase of a telegram received from Ambassador Murphy in regard to proposals made by the [illegible] the Psychological Warfare Division of SHAEF for the [illegible] of a directive redefining the objects of Allied [illegible] with of Germany. I am also enclosing a memorandum [illegible] reflects the joint views of the Department of State, [illegible] Department, and the Office of War Information on the various points raised by the Psychological Warfare [illegible].

[illegible] total effect of these proposals, particularly those [illegible] food and employment in Germany, is considered to [illegible]. They constitute in fact a commitment to [illegible] which may be undue not only from the point of view [illegible] upon the principle of unconditional surrender [illegible] because of the possibility that military considerations may make impossible the fulfillment of such a commitment. The Department, the War Department, and the Office of War Information believe that these proposals can be so altered [illegible] attain the basic objective without making commitments [illegible]. Suggestions to this end are set forth in the [illegible] memorandum. Do you approve of the transmission to [illegible] Murphy of a telegram embodying the substance of the suggestions?

[illegible]

Enclosures:

1. [illegible] paraphrase of Secret Telegram No. 5342, October 17, from Ambassador Murphy, American Embassy, London.

2. [illegible] of memorandum "Comments on Murphy Cable of October 17."

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

RECEIVED

From: AMBASSADOR, LONDON.

To: SECRETARY OF STATE.

Date: October 17, 1944, 7:48 p.m.

Number: 5042.

Ambassador Murphy states that during a recent staff meeting the Chief of the Psychological Warfare Division of SHAEF proposed the issuance of a SHAEF directive which would redefine the objectives of Allied occupation of Germany with special reference to the surrender period. He suggested a priority list as follows: (1) to maintain the output of key industries and essential services; (2) to obtain from the purged German administration at least that degree of cooperation which will prevent administrative sabotage; (3) to induce in German civilians in occupied territories non-resistance and obedience to our orders thus reducing the number of garrison troops needed; (4) by the example of life under military government to counteract the effect of Nazi propaganda in the German army and to weaken its spirit of resistance and (5) to obtain from the civilian population at least that degree of acceptance of our rule which will make them unwilling to harbor Nazi guerrillas and saboteurs. Murphy states that no decisions have yet been taken on these points but that a committee has been established to consider these questions and to formulate broad directives.

Murphy adds that SHAEF points out that military operations require the continued operation of railways, public services and the utilities in addition to other services. German personnel will be

needed

[illegible] this work and must be fed. Since some German territory [illegible], food imports will be necessary. PWD rules the [illegible] directives permit food imports and economic re-[illegible] measures when dictated by military considerations. A narrow interpretation of the directive would prevent food imports unless and until industrial unrest is present or starvation has been [illegible]. A broad interpretation would look toward an economic policy designed to maintain tolerable living conditions throughout the occupied area. This would reduce the necessity for garrison forces and provide for the maintenance of essential production. PWD states that a narrow interpretation will result in infinitely worse conditions for the population under military government than under the Nazis. PWD states that this would mean large garrison forces and that [illegible] the Allies would probably be compelled to introduce wide-[illegible] measures. Therefore, it was proposed that the German population generally should be assured that they would not starve under Allied rule and it was also suggested that military considerations will compel the maintenance of employment as as high a level as possible.

During the meeting Ambassador Murphy urged that no [illegible] or announcement should be made which could even remotely be construed as a general commitment or long term obligation. He stated his belief that factual news should be employed to demonstrate that there is no starvation or brutality under Allied rule.

Murphy now states his belief that there should be a [illegible] of complete silence on the Allied propaganda front to Germany.

He also

[illegible] in regard to the American Intervention [illegible] during the most difficult period when our activity [illegible] used in the political section of the Control Council.

WINANT.

[illegible]
DIVISION

ENCLOSURE
No. 2

[illegible] 17/62

[illegible] TO

[illegible]
[illegible]

COMMENTS ON JCS 1067 DATED OCTOBER 17

The proposed JCS Directive, as reported by Mr. Murphy, seems to be good also which, taken individually, are perhaps defensible. Taken together and worded as they are, however, they provide the basis for a propaganda campaign which might easily see conciliatory and ingratiating. The following points seem pertinent:

1. There is danger that the proposed FWD Directive, in the form reported by Mr. Murphy, would result in appeals to the Germans, which we do not want in any form.

2. The FWD supposition that the military government fears that conditions of life be worse for the German population under military government than under the Nazis is open to grave question. Certainly the Allies will not under military government expect to provide for the German people in Germany food and employment conditions than they enjoyed under their own government, and when they lived off food looted from other countries of Europe and had jobs making implements of war. The liberated countries of Europe would understandably resent any program which seemed to promise the Germans better treatment than the liberated peoples are getting.

3. In giving the Germans the reassurance proposed by FWD, the Allies would be putting themselves on a spot. The Nazis are intent upon creating chaos in Germany; food looted in the Nazis in other European countries will soon be unavailable, and shortages are inevitable. If we gave assurances and failed to make good, the average German wrath which otherwise might be directed at the Nazis would be deflected to the Allies.

4. The proposal that we maintain a "wall of silence," cutting off straight news to the Germans seems impracticable. It also seems undesirable, since there will be propaganda things which we should hammer home to the Germans.

It is suggested that the directive should be altered and should follow the general tone stated by President Roosevelt in his message of October 22, 1944, as follows:

> "As for Germany, that tragic nation which has sown the wind and is now reaping the whirlwind - - we and our Allies are entirely agreed that we shall not bargain with the Nazi conspirators, or leave them a shred of control - - open or secret - - of the instruments of government.

[redacted]

[illegible] shall not leave them a single element of military [illegible] - - [illegible] potential military power.

[illegible] I should be false to the very foundations of my [illegible] convictions, if I should ever relinquish the hope - - and even the faith - - that if all people, without exception, there live some fundamental [illegible] decency, some orientation toward justice, and some [illegible] for peace - - buried as they may be in the [illegible] and under a [illegible] regime.

[illegible] bring no charge against the German race, as such, for [illegible] believe that God has eternally condemned any [illegible] of humanity. For we know in our own land how many [illegible] men and women of German ancestry have proved loyal, [illegible]-loving, peace-loving citizens.

[illegible] is going to be stern punishment for all those [illegible] Germany directly responsible for this agony of mankind.

[illegible] German people are not going to be enslaved - - because the United Nations do not traffic in human slavery. [illegible] It will be necessary for them to earn their way back into the fellowship of peace-loving and law-abiding nations. [illegible] In their climb up that steep road, we shall [illegible] [illegible] so is that they are not encumbered by having to carry [illegible]. They will be relieved of that burden - - no hope, [illegible].

[illegible] following specific points might form the basis of a [illegible] directive:

All

a. To show German civilians that it is to their interest to obey Allied orders.

b. To show them that if they wish to prevent the [illegible] which the Nazis are scattering, and save themselves from starvation and want, they will help essential services and key consumer goods industries, particularly agriculture, (but not necessarily their enterprises) going.

c. To make clear to minor administrative officials that it is to their and Germany's interest for them to cooperate with Allied authorities.

[redacted]

[illegible] to the fire and the foolhardiness of hunting or assisting Nazi guerrillas.

[illegible] to counteract Nazi propaganda and reduce resistance by showing how Allied military government functions.

[illegible] to hold forth to the Germans that Allied occupation will bring an end to the spying, ruthless vengeance and other excesses of the Gestapo, the S. S., and other Nazi agents and bring about a release from regimentation and political persecutions.

[illegible] to make clear that the responsibility for German suffering rests squarely on the Nazi government and not on the Allies.

[illegible] of all Allied output should reflect the feeling that [illegible] of cooperation given Allied authorities by the Germans [illegible] a matter of complete indifference to us; that we have [illegible] of dealing with non-cooperation and, if any Germans [illegible] this course, it will be they and not the Allies who suffer. We should make clear that we intend to establish [illegible] orderly administration in each area but the well-[illegible] of each community will depend largely on the Germans' [illegible] behavior.

[illegible] assurances to the average German is undoubtedly in order. [illegible] this should not go beyond the following: We are completely determined to eliminate the Gestapo, the SS, the Nazi [illegible] and German militarists. We are determined to punish [illegible] all those guilty of war crimes. At the same time, [illegible] German and his family will have opportunity to live and work peacefully and without molestation if they abide by Allied regulations, if they have committed no crimes and if they demonstrate willingness to work their way back into the family of nations.

[illegible] output should make clear that it is the Nazi leaders who are responsible for whatever chaos exists in Germany. It should seek to establish in the German mind the concept that guerrilla activity is a conflict between lawabiding Germans and Nazi outlaws rather than between Germans and the Allies.

[illegible] should be put on the promise that every day the Nazi leaders are able to prolong the war will merely result in further destruction of German industrial and all other facilities and thus increase the suffering of the German people

[redacted]

[illegible]

FILE [illegible]

[illegible] in increasing lack of resources which will be needed [illegible]. It should be made clear that the responsibility [illegible] which are bound to exist as the [illegible] of the war will rest squarely upon the Nazi leaders who, [illegible] to save their own skins, are doubtlessly wasting German resources. The point here is that it is [illegible] a question of what policy the Allies will pursue [illegible] how much destruction of Germany's own resources will have resulted meanwhile.

[illegible]

[illegible] should be no appeals whatsoever by Allied authorities. In all media we should use the technique of issuing only news, [illegible] and objective commentaries. These may be used [illegible] to put across propaganda points (largely through [illegible] and emphasis) but they should be handled as statements of fact and not as attempts to persuade. In this output, the Allies should particularly emphasize:

1. Announcements and warnings from the Allied military [illegible].

2. [illegible] of punishment of war criminals and recalcitrant Germans [illegible].

3. [illegible] that can be found about occasional clashes between [illegible] Germans and Nazi outlaws.

4. [illegible] and colorful news of orderly life in Allied occupied [illegible] territory (both German and non-German.) This should [illegible] the orderly appearance of the towns, the justice of [illegible] authorities, the cooperation of local sub-officials, [illegible] number of babies born, the fact that women still hang [illegible] who wash.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

September 29, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

I do not think that in the present stage any good purpose would be served by having the State Department or any other department sound out the British and Russian views on the treatment of German industry. Most certainly it should not be taken up with the European Advisory Commission which, in a case like this, is on a tertiary and not even a secondary level.

The real nub of the situation is to keep Britain from going into complete bankruptcy at the end of the war.

Somebody has been talking not only out of turn to the papers or on facts which are not fundamentally true.

No one wants to make Germany a wholly agricultural nation again, and yet somebody down the line has handed this out to the press. I wish we could catch and chastise him.

You know that before the war Germany was not only building up war manufacture, but was also building up enough of a foreign trade to finance re-arming sufficiently and still maintain enough international credit to keep out of international bankruptcy.

I just can not go along with the idea of seeing the British empire collapse financially, and Germany at the same time building up a potential re-armament machine to make another war possible in twenty years. Mere inspection of plants will not prevent that.

But no one wants "complete eradication of German industrial productive capacity in the Ruhr and Saar".

It is possible, however, in those two particular areas to enforce rather complete controls. Also, it must not be forgotten that outside of the Ruhr and Saar, Germany has many other areas and facilities for turning out large exports.

In regard to the Soviet government, it is true that we have no idea as yet what they have in mind, but we have to remember that in their occupied territory they will do more or less what they wish. We cannot afford to get into a position of merely recording protests on our part unless there is some chance of some of the protests being heeded.

I do not intend by this to break off or delay negotiations with the Soviet government over lend-lease either on the contract basis or on the proposed Fourth Protocol basis. This, however, does not immediately concern the German industrial future.

F. D. R.

October 20, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

In regard to your memorandum of September twenty-ninth, I think it is all very well for us to make all kinds of preparations for the treatment of Germany but there are some matters in regard to such treatment that lead me to believe that speed on these matters is not an essential at the present moment. It may be in a week, or it may be in a month, or it may be several months hence. I dislike making detailed plans for a country which we do not yet occupy.

Your memorandum paragraph #1.

I agree except for going into too much detail and directives at the present moment, and we must emphasize the fact that the European Advisory Commission is "advisory" and that you and I are not bound by this advice. This is something which is sometimes overlooked and if we do not remember that word "advisory" they may go ahead and execute some of the advice, which, when the time comes, we may not like at all.

Your memorandum paragraph #2.

In view of the fact that we have not occupied Germany, I cannot agree at this moment as to what kind of a Germany we want in every detail.

In regard to the problems involved, there are some which are perfectly clear and which can be approved now.

Sub-paragraph (a) on the Demilitarization of Germany is, of course, correct but should include everything to do with aircraft. This should be made specific. It must apply not merely to the assembly of aircraft but to everything that goes into an aircraft. We must remember that somebody may claim that the aircraft is for non-military purposes, such as a transport plane. Germany must be prevented from making any aircraft of any type in the future.

I am in hearty agreement with Sub-paragraph (b) Dissolution of the Nazi Party and all affiliated organizations.

In the same way, I agree with Sub-Paragraph (c) Extensive controls should be maintained over communications, press and propaganda.

Sub-paragraph (d) Extensive controls over German educational system. I should like to talk with your experts in regard to just what this means.

I agree with Sub-paragraph (e) No decision should be taken on the possible partition of Germany.

Sub-paragraph (f) Economic Objectives. I should like to discuss this with the State Department in regard to some of the language. I agree with it in principle, but I do not know what part of it means. Much of this sub-head is dependent on what we and the Allies find when we get into Germany -- and we are not there yet.

F. D. R.

COPY OF INCOMING TELEGRAM

EOC-346
This telegram must be closely paraphrased before being communicated to anyone. ([redacted])

London
Dated October 7, 1944
Rec'd 3:10 p.m.

Secretary of State,

Washington.

US URGENT

8485, October 7, 8 p.m.

COMEA 108

I am glad to have Department's 8047 (October 2, 11 p.m.). When the question of censorship and public information control is raised in the EAC, I shall be able to comment informally on it in the spirit of the directives. However, lacking formal clearance, no written statement of United States policy on these subjects can be put before the Commission. In this, as in many other questions pending before the EAC, continued delay in clearing United States policy places the American viewpoint and American interests at a decided disadvantage.

I have noticed in EAC discussions that the Soviet delegate is well-informed even in rather small details of the provisions which have been outlined in the 29 British draft directives on Germany which have been informally circulated. If we wish American policy to be similarly studied and given due weight by the other two Governments and, particularly, by the Soviet Government, it is necessary to circulate authoritative policy papers without further delay. Speed is imperative for mechanical reasons also. Each document when submitted has to be laboriously translated into Russian, then transmitted to Moscow for study and comment by the interested departments of the Soviet Government and returned to London for negotiation by the Soviet delegation in the EAC.

Our experience so far shows that although the Russians may be slow in presenting their own proposals, they meanwhile make a close study of United States and United Kingdom papers and their positions when presented are well thought out and well supported. When the Russians do formally introduce

a paper into the EAC or state their conclusions, the policy presented has been completely cleared by their Government and can be considered authoritative. I have found in negotiating that advancing papers which have not had full clearance by our Government and on which, I am not, therefore, able to take a definite position simply confuses our relationship with the other two delegations, and particularly with the Russian delegation, and retards business rather than expediting it.

I feel it my duty to call your attention most urgently to the tremendous lag in clearing our documentation on Germany. Since the first meeting of the EAC in January nine months ago, I have received only five fully cleared policy papers relating to Germany. By Department's instruction 3667 (January 28) I received WS - 10 A and WS - 12. By Department's instruction 3735 (February 12) I received a draft instrument of surrender and a commentary thereon. By Department's instruction 3784 (February 26) I received the United States paper on control machinery (WS-15 C). By Department's instruction 4347 (July 25) I received the Working Security Committee's comments on the British directive on control of German inland transport. Since March 1 I have received only one United States policy paper with authoritative clearances.

From time to time in answer to my specific requests, I have received telegraphic comments on urgent matters under immediate negotiation. I have also received a substantial number of memoranda prepared in the Department. These latter studies are helpful to the United States delegation but lacking clearance by the Working Security Committee, they cannot be used effectively in discussions of the EAC. Despite the promises contained in EACOM 29 (Department's 6315, August 10) I have not received any fully cleared materials of the type urgently requested in COMEA 68 (my 5412, July 8, 8 p.m.) and COMEA 82 (my 7433, September 10, 3 p.m.).

I request first priority consideration and clearance for the following documents: (One) Proclamations and general orders transmitted by my despatch 17222 (August 1); (Two) United States directives prepared by Army Planning Committee and reviewed by my advisers of which 21 have been transmitted to date.

Except for one or two minor details which have been fully reported in my despatches, the proclamations, general orders and draft directives have been approved unanimously

by

by my EAC delegation which includes representatives of State, Army, Navy and Air Force. In organizing the United States delegation on the EAC, it was understood that the Departments and the services concerned would coordinate policy in joint recommendations and I have done my utmost to see that all their points of view are fully taken into account in preparing the directives which I have forwarded to the Department. Since the establishment of the United States Group Control Council (Germany) under General Wickersham, its sections and representatives have also participated actively in drafting and approving these directives.

Comments on British directives of which 29 have been transmitted to date should also be helpful; so far I have received Working Security comments on only one of the United Kingdom draft directives.

If, as mentioned in Department's 8047 (October 2, 11 p.m.) certain general decisions are still pending, this factor should not delay consideration and clearance of our draft directives which it will be noted do not prejudge such long range problems as for example, partition and de-industrialization but deal with practical questions requiring immediate tripartite handling after Germany's collapse or surrender.

If, on the other hand, these delays have occurred because of the present cumbersome machinery for interdepartmental clearance in Washington, I must urge that the Department examine most seriously means for expediting the consideration of these questions and for providing me with the materials which I have been promised for several months if negotiations are to be carried on successfully in the EAC. The responsibility for these delays should be ascertained, but what is even more important, the present arrangements including the procedures of the Working Security Committee as set forth in Department's Instruction 3667 (January 28) should be reviewed and revised.

In recent years I have tried to study the negotiations which have shaped the relationships among the great powers. I would like to say that I do not think that any conference or commission created by governments for a serious purpose has had less support from the governments creating it than the European Advisory Commission. At least I do not know of any like example in recorded history.

Please show this telegram to the President, to the Secretary of State, and to the Secretary of War.

WINANT

THE SECRETARY OF STATE

WASHINGTON

September 25, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Referring to your memorandum of September 15 from Quebec on the postwar treatment of Germany which received the agreement of the Prime Minister and yourself, it occurs to me that several steps should be considered in connection with the adoption of the policy which will be carried out in Germany after its surrender or collapse.

It would seem highly advisable to have the firm agreement of the Governments of Great Britain and the Soviet Union to the policy to be adopted as we have thus far acted on the basis that every action followed with respect to Germany, particularly in the post-hostilities period, would be on an agreed tripartite basis. It has been our understanding that the Soviet Government has also acted on this general assumption, and of course the European Advisory Commission, established by the Moscow Conference, was set up for the purpose of working out the problems of the treatment of Germany. We must realize that the adoption of any other basis of procedure would enormously increase the difficulties and responsibilities not only of our soldiers in the immediate military occupational period but also of our officials in the control period following.

Our information up to the present has been to the effect that the British Government no doubt has ideas of its own with respect to the application of economic controls to Germany, and we have not yet had any indication that the British Government would be in favor of complete eradication of German industrial productive capacity in the Ruhr and Saar. We have no idea as yet what the Soviet Government has in mind. Would it not be well at this time for the State Department to sound out the British and Russian views on the treatment of German industry either through the European Advisory Commission or otherwise?

PSF
Germany

E.A.C.(44) 12th Meeting.

14th November, 1944.

EUROPEAN ADVISORY COMMISSION.

MINUTES of Meeting held at Lancaster House, London, S.W.1., on Tuesday, 14th November, 1944, at 5.30 p.m.

Present:

Dr. P. E. Mosely (in the Chair).
Brigadier-General V. Meyer.

Mr. F. T. Gousev.
Mr. A. A. Rosh.
Mr. N. V. Ivanov.

Sir William Strang.
Mr. C. O'Neill.

Secretariat.

Mr. E. P. Donaldson.
Mr. I. G. Prigorny.
Mr. W. D. McAfee.

AGENDA

Approval of text of Agreement regarding Amendments to the Protocol of 12th September, 1944, between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin".

THE COMMISSION:-

Approval of text of the Agreement regarding Amendments to the Protocol of 12th September, 1944, between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin".

(a) approved the text of the Agreement regarding Amendments to the Protocol of 12th September, 1944, between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin", as agreed between the United States of America, United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Delegations, the boundaries of the zones of occupation in Germany being as marked on the annexed map "C" in accordance with the text of the Protocol of 12th September, 1944, and the text of the Agreement regarding Amendments thereto (the text of the Agreement regarding Amendments in English and Russian and map "C", which supersedes map "A" annexed to the Protocol of 12th September, 1944, are annexed);

(b)/

(b) decided to submit the Agreement regarding Amendments to the Protocol of 12th September, 1944, between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin", with the annexed map "C", to the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for consideration and approval.

For the Representative of the Government of the United States of America on the European Advisory Commission:

Philip E. Mosely

Representative of the Government of the United Kingdom on the European Advisory Commission:

William Strang

Representative of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the European Advisory Commission:

[illegible]

LANCASTER HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

14th November, 1944.

Printed in F.R.U.S. The Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945 pp 121-123

Agreement regarding Amendments to the Protocol of 12th September, 1944, between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin".

1. In place of the description of the North-Western Zone given in paragraph 2 of the above-mentioned Protocol, the description of the North-Western Zone will read as follows:-

"North-Western Zone (as shown on the annexed map "C")

The territory of Germany situated to the west of the line defined in the description of the Eastern zone, and bounded on the south by a line drawn from the point where the frontier between the Prussian provinces of Hanover and Hessen-Nassau meets the western frontier of the Prussian province of Saxony; thence along the southern frontier of Hanover; thence along the north-western, western and southern frontiers of Hessen-Nassau to the point where the River Rhine leaves the latter; thence along the center of the navigable channel of the River Rhine to the point where it leaves Hessen-Darmstadt; thence along the western frontier of Baden to the point where this frontier becomes the Franco-German frontier will be occupied by/

by armed forces of the United Kingdom."

2. In place of the description of the South-Western Zone given in paragraph 2 of the above-mentioned Protocol, the description of the South-Western Zone will read as follows:-

"South-Western Zone (as shown on the annexed map "C")	The territory of Germany situated to the south of a line commencing at the junction of the frontiers of Saxony, Bavaria and Czechoslovakia and extending westward along the northern frontier of Bavaria to the junction of the frontiers of Hessen-Nassau, Thuringia and Bavaria; thence north, west and south along the eastern, northern, western and southern frontiers of Hessen-Nassau to the point where the River Rhine leaves the southern frontier of Hessen-Nassau; thence southwards along the center of the navigable channel of the River Rhine to the point where it leaves Hessen-Darmstadt; thence along the western frontier of Baden to the point where this frontier becomes the Franco-German frontier will be occupied by armed forces of the United States of America."

3. The following additional paragraph will be inserted after the description of the South-Western Zone:-

"For the purpose of facilitating communications between the South-Western Zone and the sea, the Commander-in-Chief of the United States forces in the South-Western Zone will

(a) exercise such control of the ports of Bremen and Bremerhaven and the necessary staging areas in the vicinity thereof as may be agreed hereafter by the United Kingdom and United States military authorities to be necessary to meet his requirements;

(b) enjoy such transit facilities through the North-Western Zone as may be agreed hereafter by the United Kingdom and United States military authorities to be necessary to meet his requirements."

4. At the end of the description of the North-Western part of "Greater Berlin" given in paragraph 2 of the above-mentioned Protocol, insert the following words:-

"the United Kingdom"

5. At the end of the description of the Southern part of "Greater Berlin" given in paragraph 2 of the above-mentioned Protocol, insert the following words:-

"the United States of America"

6. In the English text of the sub-paragraph in paragraph 2 of the above-mentioned Protocol beginning with the words "The frontiers of States (Länder) and Provinces," the words "descriptions to the zones" will read "descriptions of the zones."

The above text of the Agreement regarding Amendments to the Protocol

of/

of 12th September, 1944, between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the zones of occupation in Germany and the administration of "Greater Berlin" has been prepared and unanimously adopted by the European Advisory Commission at a meeting held on the 14th November, 1944.

For the Representative of the Government of the United States of America on the European Advisory Commission:

Philip E. Mosely

Representative of the Government of the United Kingdom on the European Advisory Commission:

William Strang

Representative of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the European Advisory Commission:

F. Gousev

LANCASTER HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

14th November, 1944.

[redacted]

ЕКС/44/I2 заседание.
I4 ноября I944 года.

ЕВРОПЕЙСКАЯ КОНСУЛЬТАТИВНАЯ КОМИССИЯ.

ПРОТОКОЛ заседания, состоявшегося в Ланкастер Хаус

I4 ноября I944 года.

Заседание началось в I7.30,
окончилось в I8.00.

ПРИСУТСТВОВАЛИ:

Г-н Ф.Э.Мозли /Председатель/,
ген.-бригадир З.Мейер.

Г-н Ф.Т.Гусев,
г-н А.А.Р о м,
г-н Н.З.Иванов.

Сэр Уильям Стрэнг,
г-н К. О'Нилл.

СЕКРЕТАРИАТ:

Г-н К.П.Дональдсон,
г-н К.Г.Григорьев,
г-н У.Д.Макафи.

ПОВЕСТКА ДНЯ:

Утверждение текста Соглашения относительно изменений в Протоколе Соглашения от I2 сентября I944 года между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином".

Утверждение текста Соглашения относительно изменений в Протоколе Соглашения от I2 сентября I944 года между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином".

КОМИССИЯ решила -

а/ утвердить текст Соглашения относительно изменений в Протоколе Соглашения от I2 сентября I944 года между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином", согласованный между делегациями США, Соединенного Королевства и СССР, с границами зон оккупации Германии, обозна-

ченными на прилагаемой карте "С", согласно тексту Протокола от I2 сентября I944 года и тексту прилагаемого Соглашения относительно изменений в нем /текст Соглашения относительно изменений на английском и русском языках и карта "С", которая заменяет карту "А", приложенную к Протоколу от I2 сентября I944 года, прилагаются/;

б/ представить это Соглашение относительно изменений в Протоколе Соглашения от I2 сентября I944 года между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином" с приложенной картой "С" на рассмотрение и утверждение Правительств США, Соединенного Королевства и СССР.

За Представителя Правительства Соединенных Штатов Америки в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

Philip E. Mosely

Представитель Правительства Соединенного Королевства в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

William Strang

Представитель Правительства Союза Советских Социалистических Республик в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

Ф. Гусев

ЛАНКАСТЕР ХАУС,
ЛОНДОН.

I4 ноября I944г.

[redacted]

С О Г Л А Ш Е Н И Е

относительно изменений в Протоколе Соглашения от 12 сентября 1944 года между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином".

1. Вместо описания северо-западной зоны, приведенного в п.2 вышеупомянутого Протокола, принять новое описание северо-западной зоны и изложить его в следующем виде:

"Северо-западная зона /как показана на прилагаемой карте "С"/. Территория Германии, расположенная к западу от линии, установленной в описании восточной зоны, и ограниченная с юга линией, проходящей от пункта пересечения границы между прусскими провинциями Ганновер и Гессен-Нассау с западной границей прусской провинции Саксония, далее по южной границе Ганновера, далее по северо-западной, западной и южной границам Гессен-Нассау до пункта, где последняя перестает следовать реке Рейн, затем по центру судоходного русла реки Рейн до пункта, где она выходит из Гессен-Дармштадт, далее по западной границе Бадена до пункта пересечения ее с франко-германской границей, занимается вооруженными силами Соединенного Королевства."

2. Вместо описания юго-западной зоны, приведенного в п.2 вышеупомянутого Протокола, принять новое описание юго-западной зоны и изложить его в следующем виде:

"Юго-западная зона /как показана на прилагаемой карте "С"/. Территория Германии, расположенная к югу от линии, начинающейся от скрещения границ Саксонии, Баварии и Чехословакии и идущей на запад по северной границе Баварии до скрещения границ Гессен-Нассау, Тюрингии и Баварии, далее к северу, западу и югу по восточной, северной, западной и южной границам Гессен-Нассау до пункта, где южная граница Гессен-Нассау перестает

следовать реке Рейн, затем на юг по центру судоходного русла реки Рейн до пункта, где она выходит из Гессен-Дармштадт, далее по западной границе Бадена до пункта пересечения ее с франко-германской границей, занимается вооруженными силами Соединенных Штатов Америки."

3. После описания юго-западной зоны вставить следующий дополнительный пункт:

"С целью облегчения сообщения между юго-западной зоной и морем главнокомандующий вооруженными силами Соединенных Штатов в юго-западной зоне будет

а/ осуществлять такой контроль над портами Бремен и Бремерхафен и необходимыми пересадочными площадками вблизи их, который в будущем может быть признан необходимым военными властями Соединенного Королевства и Соединенных Штатов для удовлетворения его потребностей;

б/ пользоваться такими возможностями транзита через северо-западную зону, которые в будущем могут быть признаны необходимыми военными властями Соединенного Королевства и Соединенных Штатов для удовлетворения его потребностей."

4. В конце описания северо-западной части "Большого Берлина", приведенного в п.2 вышеупомянутого Протокола, добавить следующие слова: "Соединенного Королевства".

5. В конце описания южной части "Большого Берлина", приведенного в п.2 вышеупомянутого Протокола, добавить следующие слова: "Соединенных Штатов Америки".

6. В английском тексте пункта 2 вышеупомянутого Протокола во фразе, начинающейся словами "В вышеприведенных описаниях зон ..."

слова " descri;t'ons to the zones " следует читать " descriptions of the zones ".

Вышеприведенный текст Соглашения относительно изменений в Протоколе Соглашения от 12 сентября 1944 года между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о зонах оккупации Германии и об управлении "Большим Берлином" подготовлен и единогласно принят Европейской Консультативной Комиссией на заседании, состоявшемся 14 ноября 1944 года.

За Представителя Правительства Соединенных Штатов Америки в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии	Представитель Правительства Соединенного Королевства в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии	Представитель Правительства Союза Советских Социалистических Республик в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии
Philip E. Mosely	William Strang	Ф. Гусев

ЛАНКАСТЕР ХАУС,
ЛОНДОН.

14 ноября 1944г.

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72 and authority of British Govt. telegram 5-12-72
By _____ Date FEB 9 1972

PSF Germany

E.A.C.(44) 11th Meeting.

14th November, 1944.

EUROPEAN ADVISORY COMMISSION

MINUTES of Meeting held at Lancaster House, London, S.W.1., on 14th November, 1944, at 5.00 p.m.

Present:

Dr. P. E. Mosely (in the Chair)
Brigadier-General V. Meyer.

Mr. F. T. Gousev.
Mr. A. A. Rosh.
Mr. N. V. Ivanov.

Sir William Strang.
Mr. C. O'Neill.

Secretariat

Mr. E. P. Donaldson.
Mr. I. G. Prigorny.
Mr. W. D. McAfee.

AGENDA

1. Approval of text of Agreement between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Control Machinery in Germany.

2. Approval of the Report by the European Advisory Commission to the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

THE COMMISSION:-

1. Approval of text of Agreement between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on Control Machinery in Germany.

(a) approved the text of the Agreement on control machinery in Germany, agreed between the Delegations of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (The text of the Agreement in English and Russian is annexed).

(b) decided to submit the above-mentioned Agreement to the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics for consideration and approval.

THE COMMISSION:-

2. Approval of the Report by the European Advisory Commission to the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Approved the text of the Report by the European Advisory Commission and decided to submit it, signed by the three Representatives on the European Advisory Commission, as a covering document to the text of the above-mentioned Agreement, to the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. (The text of the Report in English and Russian is annexed).

For the Representative of the Government of the United States of America on the European Advisory Commission:

Philip E. Mosely

Representative of the Government of the United Kingdom on the European Advisory Commission:

William Strang

Representative of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the European Advisory Commission:

F. Gousev

Printed in F.R.U.S. Vol. I, 1944
pp 404-406

[redacted]

REPORT BY THE EUROPEAN ADVISORY COMMISSION TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, THE UNITED KINGDOM AND THE UNION OF SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLICS.

In virtue of the Terms of Reference of the European Advisory Commission agreed upon at the Moscow Conference, the Commission has given attention to the machinery required to ensure the fulfilment of the terms of surrender to be imposed on Germany, as well as of any additional requirements which may be presented to Germany in accordance with those terms. Accordingly, we submit herewith, for the consideration of the three Governments, a proposed Agreement on Control Machinery in Germany.

2. At the present time, it is difficult to determine the course of events in Germany after surrender or cessation of organised resistance. The immediate problem is to decide what Allied agencies should be set up in Germany directly after surrender or cessation of organised resistance and immediately upon the occupation of Germany by armed forces of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

3. The plan contained in the attached proposed Agreement provides for the tripartite agencies of control and administration to cover the period of occupation of Germany following her defeat, during which Germany will be carrying out the basic requirements of unconditional surrender.

4. The purposes of these agencies of control and administration will comprise the control of the disarmament of Germany, including the most urgent tasks of economic disarmament; the abolition of the Nazi regime; and the preparation of conditions for the creation in Germany of organs based on democratic principles.

5. We have not found it possible to indicate what should be the duration in point of time of the period to be covered by the proposed Agreement. We would recommend, however, that the tasks assigned to the organs of control during that period should be carried out in as short a time as possible, and that the moment for the inauguration of the second period should be decided by the three Governments after consultations with their Commanders-in-Chief.

6. We have based our draft on the assumption that there will at the outset be a central administration in Germany through which the organs of control will operate. The machinery of tripartite control which we recommend would, however, be capable of adjustment to meet other conditions.

7./

7. We have individually reported to our respective Governments on the course of the discussions which have taken place in arriving at the contents of the Agreement which is hereto attached. It is unnecessary for us, therefore, to repeat the history of those discussions.

8. In order to ensure that the control machinery proposed in the Agreement will be prepared to assume its functions with minimum delay, we recommend that nucleus control machinery, in accordance with the provisions of this Agreement, be established on a tripartite basis as soon as possible after the Agreement has been approved.

9. We recommend, with reference to Article 8 of the Agreement, that the three Governments should jointly issue a public statement at the time of the signature of the Instrument of Surrender to the effect that, in connection with the exercise of the powers assumed by them in the Instrument of Surrender, they will consult with the Governments of other United Nations.

10. We further recommend that the main points of the attached Agreement on Control Machinery in Germany be published by the three Allied Representatives as a Proclamation to the German people immediately after the signing of the Unconditional Surrender Instrument or immediately following the cessation of organised resistance in Germany. This Proclamation would also include a description of the Zones of Occupation.

For the Representative of the Government of the United States of America on the European Advisory Commission:

Philip E. Mosely

Representative of the Government of the United Kingdom on the European Advisory Commission:

William Strang

Representative of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the European Advisory Commission:

F. Tsarapkin

LANCASTER HOUSE.
LONDON, S.W.1.

14th November, 1944.

Printed in F.R.U.S. The Conferences at Malta and Yalta, 1945 pp 124-127

[redacted]

AGREEMENT ON CONTROL MACHINERY IN GERMANY

The Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have reached the following Agreement with regard to the organisation of the Allied control machinery in Germany in the period during which Germany will be carrying out the basic requirements of unconditional surrender:-

Article 1.

Supreme authority in Germany will be exercised, on instructions from their respective Governments, by the Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, each in his own zone of occupation, and also jointly, in matters affecting Germany as a whole, in their capacity as members of the supreme organ of control constituted under the present Agreement.

Article 2.

Each Commander-in-Chief in his zone of occupation will have attached to him military, naval and air representatives of the other two Commanders-in-Chief for liaison duties.

Article 3.

(a) The three Commanders-in-Chief, acting together as a body, will constitute a supreme organ of control called the Control Council.

(b) The functions of the Control Council will be:-

(i) to ensure appropriate uniformity of action by the Commanders-in-Chief in their respective zones of occupation;

(ii) to initiate plans and reach agreed decisions on the chief military, political, economic and other questions affecting Germany as a whole, on the basis of instructions received by each Commander-in-Chief from his Government

(iii) to control the German central administration, which will operate under the direction of the Control Council and will be responsible to it for ensuring compliance with its demands;

(iv)/

(iv) to direct the administration of "Greater Berlin" through appropriate organs.

(c) The Control Council will meet at least once in ten days; and it will meet at any time upon request of any one of its members. Decisions of the Control Council shall be unanimous. The chairmanship of the Control Council will be held in rotation by each of its three members.

(d) Each member of the Control Council will be assisted by a political adviser, who will, when necessary, attend meetings of the Control Council. Each member of the Control Council may also, when necessary, be assisted at meetings of the Council by naval or air advisers.

Article 4.

A permanent Co-ordinating Committee will be established under the Control Council, composed of one representative of each of the three Commanders-in-Chief, not below the rank of General Officer or the equivalent rank in the naval or air forces. Members of the Co-ordinating Committee will, when necessary, attend meetings of the Control Council.

Article 5.

The duties of the Co-ordinating Committee, acting on behalf of the Control Council and through the Control Staff, will include:-

(a) the carrying out of the decisions of the Control Council;

(b) the day-to-day supervision and control of the activities of the German central administration and institutions;

(c) the co-ordination of current problems which call for uniform measures in all three zones;

(d) the preliminary examination and preparation for the Control Council of all questions submitted by individual Commanders-in-Chief.

Article 6.

(a) The members of the Control Staff, appointed by their respective national authorities, will be organised in the following Divisions:-

Military; Naval; Air; Transport; Political; Economic; Finance; Reparation, Deliveries and Restitution; Internal Affairs and Communications; Legal; Prisoners of War and Displaced Persons; Man-power.

Adjustments in the number and functions of the Divisions may be made in the light of experience.

(b)/

(b) At the head of each Division there will be three high-ranking officials, one from each Power. The duties of the three heads of each Division, acting jointly, will include:-

(i) exercising control over the corresponding German Ministries and German central institutions;

(ii) acting as advisers to the Control Council and, when necessary, attending meetings thereof;

(iii) transmitting to the German central administration the decisions of the Control Council, communicated through the Co-ordinating Committee.

(c) The three heads of a Division will take part in meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee at which matters affecting the work of their Division are on the agenda.

(d) The staffs of the Divisions may include civilian as well as military personnel. They may also, in special cases, include nationals of other United Nations, appointed in their personal capacity.

Article 7.

(a) An Inter-Allied Governing Authority (Komendatura) consisting of three Commandants, one from each Power, appointed by their respective Commanders-in-Chief, will be established to direct jointly the administration of the "Greater Berlin" area. Each of the Commandants will serve in rotation, in the position of Chief Commandant, as head of the Inter-Allied Governing Authority.

(b) A Technical Staff, consisting of personnel of each of the three Powers, will be established under the Inter-Allied Governing Authority, and will be organised to serve the purpose of supervising and controlling the activities of the local organs of "Greater Berlin" which are responsible for its municipal services.

(c) The Inter-Allied Governing Authority will operate under the general direction of the Control Council and will receive orders through the Co-ordinating Committee.

Article 8.

The necessary liaison with the Governments of other United Nations chiefly interested will be ensured by the appointment by such Governments of military missions (which may include civilian members) to the Control Council, having access, through the appropriate channels, to the organs of control.

Article 9.

United Nations' organisations which may be admitted by the Control Council to operate in Germany will, in respect of their activities in Germany, be subordinate to the Allied control

machinery/

machinery and answerable to it.

Article 10.

The Allied organs for the control and administration of Germany outlined above will operate during the initial period of the occupation of Germany immediately following surrender, that is, the period when Germany is carrying out the basic requirements of unconditional surrender.

Article 11.

The question of the Allied organs required for carrying out the functions of control and administration in Germany in a later period will be the subject of a separate Agreement between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The above text of the Agreement on Control Machinery in Germany between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been prepared and unanimously adopted by the Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the European Advisory Commission at a meeting held on 14th November, 1944, and is now submitted to their respective Governments for approval.

For the Representative of the Government of the United States of America on the European Advisory Commission:	Representative of the Government of the United Kingdom on the European Advisory Commission:	Representative of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the European Advisory Commission:
Philip E. Mosely	William Strang	A. Gusev

LANCASTER HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

14th November, 1944.

ЕКК/44/II заседание.
14 ноября 1944 года.

ЕВРОПЕЙСКАЯ КОНСУЛЬТАТИВНАЯ КОМИССИЯ.

ПРОТОКОЛ заседания, состоявшегося в Ланкастер Хаус

14 ноября 1944 года.

Заседание началось в 17.00,
окончилось в 17.50.

ПРИСУТСТВОВАЛИ:

Г-н Ф.Э.Мозли /Председатель/,
ген.-бригадир В.Мейер.

Г-н Ф.Т.Гусев,
г-н А.А.Р о м,
г-н Н.В.Иванов.

Сэр Уильям Стренг,
г-н К. О'Нилл.

СЕКРЕТАРИАТ:

Г-н И.П.Дональдсон,
г-н Н.Г.Григорьев,
г-н У.Д.Макафи.

ПОВЕСТКА ДНЯ:

1. Утверждение текста Соглашения между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик о контрольном механизме в Германии.

2. Утверждение Доклада Европейской Консультативной Комиссии Правительствам Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик.

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1. УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ ТЕКСТА СОГЛАШЕНИЯ МЕЖДУ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВАМИ СОЕДИНЕННЫХ ШТАТОВ АМЕРИКИ, СОЕДИНЕННОГО КОРОЛЕВСТВА И СОЮЗА СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК О КОНТРОЛЬНОМ МЕХАНИЗМЕ В ГЕРМАНИИ.

КОМИССИЯ решила -

а/ утвердить текст Соглашения о контрольном механизме в Германии, согласованный между делегациями Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик. /Текст Соглашения на английском и русском языках прилагается/;

6/ представить вышеупомянутое Соглашение Правительствам Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик на рассмотрение и утверждение.

2. УТВЕРЖДЕНИЕ ДОКЛАДА ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЙ КОНСУЛЬТАТИВНОЙ КОМИССИИ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВАМ СОЕДИНЕННЫХ ШТАТОВ АМЕРИКИ, СОЕДИНЕННОГО КОРОЛЕВСТВА И СОЮЗА СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК.

КОМИССИЯ решила -

утвердить текст Доклада Европейской Консультативной Комиссии и, по подписании тремя Представителями в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии, представить его, в качестве препроводительного документа к тексту вышеупомянутого Соглашения, Правительствам Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик. /Текст Доклада на английском и русском языках прилагается/.

За Представителя Правительства Соединенных Штатов Америки в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

Philip E. Mosely

Представитель Правительства Соединенного Королевства в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

William Peters

Представитель Правительства Союза Советских Социалистических Республик в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

ЛАНКАСТЕР ХАУС,
ЛОНДОН.

14 ноября 1944г.

ДОКЛАД ЕВРОПЕЙСКОЙ КОНСУЛЬТАТИВНОЙ КОМИССИИ ПРАВИТЕЛЬСТВАМ СОЕДИНЕННЫХ ШТАТОВ АМЕРИКИ, СОЕДИНЕННОГО КОРОЛЕВСТВА И СОЮЗА СОВЕТСКИХ СОЦИАЛИСТИЧЕСКИХ РЕСПУБЛИК.

1. В силу Положения о задачах и компетенции Европейской Консультативной Комиссии, принятого на Московской конференции, Комиссия уделила внимание механизму, требуемому для обеспечения выполнения условий капитуляции, которые должны быть навязаны Германии, а также любых дополнительных требований, которые могут быть пред"явлены Германии в соответствии с этими условиями. В соответствии с этим мы представляем при сем на рассмотрение трех Правительств проект Соглашения о контрольном механизме в Германии.

2. В настоящее время трудно определить развитие событий в Германии после капитуляции или прекращения организованного сопротивления. Актуальным представляется вопрос о том, какие органы Союзников должны быть созданы в Германии непосредственно после капитуляции или прекращения организованного сопротивления и сразу после оккупации Германии вооруженными силами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик.

3. План, изложенный в прилагаемом проекте Соглашения, предусматривает тройственные органы контроля и управления на период оккупации Германии, следующий за ее поражением, в течение которого Германия будет выполнять основные требования безоговорочной капитуляции.

4. В задачи этих органов контроля и управления будут входить контроль над разоружением Германии, включая самые неотложные задачи экономического разоружения, ликвидация нацистского режима и подготовка условий для образования в Германии органов, основанных на демократических началах.

5. Мы не нашли возможным определить, как долго будет продолжаться период, охватываемый предлагаемым Соглашением. Однако мы рекомендуем, чтобы задачи контрольных органов в течение этого периода были выполнены в кратчайший срок и чтобы момент начала второго периода был определен тремя Правительствами после консультаций с их главнокомандующими.

6. Наш проект основан на предположении, что в Германии с самого начала будет центральная администрация, через которую будут действовать контрольные органы. Однако рекомендуемый нами механизм тройственного контроля может быть приспособлен и к другим условиям.

7. Мы индивидуально докладывали нашим соответствующим Правительствам о ходе обсуждения, которое имело место в процессе разработки содержания Соглашения, которое при сем прилагается. Поэтому нам нет необходимости повторять историю этого обсуждения.

8. Для того чтобы обеспечить готовность предлагаемого в Соглашении контрольного механизма приступить к выполнению своих функций с минимальным промедлением, мы рекомендуем как можно скорее после утверждения Соглашения создать на тройственной основе зародыш контрольного механизма в соответствии с положениями этого Соглашения.

9. Мы рекомендуем далее, ссылаясь на статью 5 Соглашения, чтобы в момент подписания Документа о капитуляции три Правительства совместно опубликовали заявление о том, что в связи с осуществлением полномочий, принятых ими на себя по Документу о капитуляции, они будут консультироваться с Правительствами других Об"единенных Наций.

10. Мы также рекомендуем, чтобы немедленно после подписания Документа о безоговорочной капитуляции или непосредственно за прекращением организованного сопротивления в Германии основные

положения прилагаемого Соглашения о контрольном механизме в Германии были опубликованы тремя Представителями Союзников в качестве проклямации к германскому народу. В эту проклямацию было бы также включено описание зон оккупации.

За Представителя Правительства США в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

Philip E. Mosely

Представитель Правительства Соединенного Королевства в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

William Fox

Представитель Правительства СССР в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

ЛАНКАСТЕР ХАУС,
ЛОНДОН.

14 ноября 1944г.

С О Г Л А Ш Е Н И Е

О КОНТРОЛЬНОМ МЕХАНИЗМЕ В ГЕРМАНИИ.

Правительства Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства Великобритании и Северной Ирландии и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик пришли к следующему соглашению в отношении организации контрольного механизма Союзников в Германии на период выполнения Германией основных требований безоговорочной капитуляции:

Статья I.

Верховная власть в Германии будет осуществляться главнокомандующими вооруженных сил Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик, каждым в своей зоне оккупации, по инструкциям от своих соответствующих Правительств, а также совместно, по вопросам, затрагивающим Германию в целом, действующими в качестве членов верховного контрольного органа, учрежденного по настоящему Соглашению.

Статья 2.

При каждом главнокомандующем в его зоне оккупации будут состоять военные, военно-морские и военно-воздушные представители двух других главнокомандующих для выполнения функций связи.

Статья 3.

а/ Три главнокомандующих, действуя совместно, образуют верховный контрольный орган, называемый Контрольным Советом.

б/ В функции Контрольного Совета будет входить:

I/ обеспечение соответствующей согласованности в действиях главнокомандующих в их соответствующих зонах оккупации;

2/ выработка планов и достижение согласованных решений по главным военным, политическим, экономическим и другим

вопросам, общим для всей Германии, на основании инструкций, получаемых каждым главнокомандующим от своего Правительства;

3/ контролирование германской центральной администрации, которая будет действовать под руководством Контрольного Совета и будет нести перед ним ответственность за обеспечение выполнения его требований;

4/ руководство через соответствующие органы администрацией "Большого Берлина".

в/ Заседания Контрольного Совета будут созываться не реже одного раза в десять дней и в любое время по просьбе какого-либо из его членов. Решения Контрольного Совета должны быть единогласными. Обязанности председателя Контрольного Совета будут выполняться по очереди каждым из его трех членов.

г/ Каждому члену Контрольного Совета будет помогать политический советник, который, когда это окажется необходимым, будет присутствовать на заседаниях Контрольного Совета. Каждый член Контрольного Совета может также в случае необходимости пользоваться на заседаниях Контрольного Совета помощью военно-морского и военно-воздушного советников.

Статья 4.

При Контрольном Совете будет создан постоянно действующий Комитет по координации, состоящий из трех представителей в звании не ниже генерала или ему соответствующих в военно-морских и военно-воздушных силах, по одному от каждого из трех главнокомандующих. Члены Комитета по координации, когда понадобится, будут присутствовать на заседаниях Контрольного Совета.

Статья 5.

В задачи этого Комитета по координации, действующего от имени Контрольного Совета и через контролирующий аппарат, будет входить:

а/ проведение в жизнь решений Контрольного Совета;

б/ повседневное наблюдение и контроль за деятельностью соответствующих органов германской центральной администрации и учреждений;

в/ согласование текущих вопросов, требующих единообразных мероприятий во всех трех зонах;

г/ предварительное рассмотрение и подработка для Контрольного Совета всех вопросов, поднимаемых отдельными главнокомандующими.

Статья 6.

а/ Из персонала контролирующего аппарата, назначаемого соответствующими национальными властями, будут созданы следующие отделы: военный, военно-морской, военно-воздушный, транспортный, политический, экономический, финансовый, по репарациям и поставкам, внутренних дел и связи, правовой, по делам военнопленных и перемещенных лиц и отдел рабочей силы.

Уточнение числа и функций отделов может быть произведено в свете приобретенного опыта.

б/ Во главе каждого отдела будут стоять три высокопоставленных чиновника, по одному от каждой Державы. В обязанности этих трех начальников каждого отдела, действующих совместно, будет входить:

1/ осуществление контроля над соответствующими германскими министерствами и германскими центральными учреждениями;

2/ исполнение функций советников Контрольного Совета, присутствуя, когда это необходимо, на его заседаниях;

3/ передача германской центральной администрации решений Контрольного Совета, сообщаемых через комитет по координации.

в/ Три начальника отделов будут принимать участие в заседаниях Комитета по координации, на которых рассматриваются вопросы, затрагивающие работу их отдела.

г/ В состав отделов могут входить как военные, так и гражданские лица. В него могут также в особых случаях быть включены граждане других Об"единенных Наций, назначаемые в качестве частных лиц.

Статья 7.

а/ Для совместного управления районом "Большого Берлина" будет создана Межсоюзническая Комендатура в составе трех комендантов, по одному от каждой Державы, назначаемых их соответствующими главнокомандующими. Межсоюзническая Комендатура будет возглавляться Главным Комендантом, обязанности которого будут выполняться поочередно каждым из комендантов.

б/ При Межсоюзнической Комендатуре из персонала каждой из трех Держав будет создан технический аппарат, структура которого будет отвечать задачам наблюдения и контроля за деятельностью местных органов "Большого Берлина", ведающих его городским хозяйством.

в/ Межсоюзническая Комендатура будет действовать под общим руководством Контрольного Совета и будет получать приказы через Комитет по координации.

Статья 8.

Необходимая связь с правительствами других наиболее заинтересованных Об"единенных Наций будет обеспечена назначением такими правительствами военных миссий при Контрольном Совете /в состав которых могут быть включены гражданские лица/, имеющих доступ через соответствующие каналы к органам контроля.

Статья 9.

Организации Об"единенных Наций, которым может быть разрешено Контрольным Советом действовать в Германии, в отношении своей де-

ятельности в Германии будут подчинены контрольному механизму Союзников и ответственны перед ним.

Статья 10.

Органы Союзников по контролю и управлению Германией, указанные выше, будут действовать в течение начального периода оккупации Германии, следующего непосредственно за капитуляцией, т.е. в течение периода выполнения Германией основных требований безоговорочной капитуляции.

Статья 11.

Вопрос о том, какие органы Союзников должны осуществлять функции контроля и управления в Германии в более поздний период, будет предметом особого соглашения между Правительствами Соединенных Штатов Америки, Соединенного Королевства и Союза Советских Социалистических Республик.

За Представителя Правительства США в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

Philip E. Mosely

Представитель Правительства Соединенного Королевства в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

William Strang

Представитель Правительства СССР в Европейской Консультативной Комиссии

ЛАНКАСТЕР ХАУС,
ЛОНДОН.

14 ноября 1944г.

PSF
Germany

THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November 23, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR PRESIDENT

Attached you will find an interesting cable, No. 10115, we have just received from London giving the present British views on the economic treatment of Germany.

E. R. Stettinius Jr.

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

[illegible]-5[illegible]

[illegible] [redacted]

London

Dated November 18, 19[illegible]

Rec'd 5:58 p.m.

Secretary of State

Washington

1015, November 18, 5 p.m.

[redacted] FOR THOSE CONCERNED WITH REPARATION AND ECONOMIC POLICY TOWARDS GERMANY. NO. 3.

Following are points arising out of personal conversations which Perkins had with Sir [illegible] in Berlin and in the Ruhr and Cologne [illegible] question of controlling German stock of strategic minerals.

Sir. Robb characterized the Morgenthau Plan as [illegible] and sketchy. It provides for internationalization of productive activities operated by an international authority superimposed on the German authorities which would continue to function for non-governmental purposes. It is apparently intended as a sort of half way house between partition and a complete military phase. Neither Robb nor other UK officials with whom we have spoken on the subject [illegible]

to [illegible]

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72
By Date FEB [illegible]

[illegible]
~~By Deputy Arc[illegible] he U.S.~~
By W. J. Stewart [illegible]

[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], from [illegible]

[illegible] to [illegible] it [illegible] to [illegible]. The [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] would [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] of [illegible] economic [illegible] is the [illegible] of [illegible] similar in scope to [illegible] [illegible] between nations. (See Embassy's [illegible], November [illegible]).

[illegible] regard to this advice from the [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] not had [illegible] [illegible] evidence, we have not up to now [illegible] of any kind, [illegible] from the view that [illegible] remain the substantial unitary state" [illegible] the [illegible] report.

Both [illegible] and [illegible] officials though [illegible] attempt to [illegible] the [illegible] [illegible] by the Soviet [illegible] attempt to [illegible] of economic influence [illegible] [illegible], UK and US. [illegible] the Soviet [illegible]

Officials in Whitehall, [illegible] the Marshall Plan [illegible] [illegible] dissatisfaction [illegible] the French [illegible]

[illegible] -23-79

[illegible]

~~DECLASSIFIED~~
~~[illegible] Authority of [illegible]~~
~~By [illegible] Date [illegible]~~

[illegible], Nov. [illegible], [illegible] p.m., from London

[illegible] the only [illegible] for [illegible] the general destruction of the German industries.

The [illegible] and industrial [illegible] in the [illegible] Control of the Ministry of [illegible] [illegible] the view that [illegible] control of strategic [illegible] in the metallurgical industries would [illegible] effective check on renewed German aggression. [illegible] that thorough control of [illegible], [illegible] and [illegible] would [illegible] [illegible] difficulties [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] would have [illegible] [illegible] of the minerals [illegible] [illegible] in each raw materials and manufactured [illegible] all the raw material produced anywhere in the world is accounted for. [illegible] should not be [illegible] [illegible] working levels.

They particularly stressed that neither [illegible] [illegible] by the ACC or other [illegible]

[illegible] Date [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] The most important thing [illegible] close touch with the trade [illegible] international [illegible] before the war could not accomplish [illegible] of international [illegible] would arise. [illegible] statistical [illegible] the officials in the [illegible] control [illegible] should be given [illegible] were fulfilled [illegible] whether the control were [illegible] directly [illegible] the security organization or were a part of [illegible] the international economic [illegible].

Though these officials are not on [illegible] we believe that their views on the necessity for an international control of a [illegible] number of essential [illegible]

(Continued)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Germany in [illegible] [illegible] substitutes in Germany first and not [illegible] only [illegible] in Allied countries. [illegible] existing German industrial [illegible] of substitutes, [illegible] of which were [illegible] [illegible] having kept pace [illegible] developments.

[illegible]

Transmitted via Army to WH - 12-12-44

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72
By GS Date FEB 9 1972

PSF
Germany 1

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

[redacted]

November 25, 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Agreement with Russia on Control Machinery in Germany

There is attached herewith a photostatic copy of an agreement signed in the European Advisory Commission by the Ambassadors, British and Soviet Governments, with respect to control machinery in Germany, together with the minutes of the meeting of the Commission on November 17, 1944, at which the agreement was signed.

I should appreciate being informed whether this agreement, which is the result of careful consideration and close consultation with the U. S. Joint Chiefs of Staff and the War and Navy Departments, is agreeable to you in order that Ambassador Winant may be informed as soon as possible of the United States Government's approval of this agreement. Copies are also being furnished to the Secretary of War and to the Secretary of Navy.

Enclosure:
As stated.

E. R. Stettinius Jr.

[redacted]

AGREEMENT ON CONTROL MACHINERY IN GERMANY

The Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have reached the following Agreement with regard to the organisation of the Allied control machinery in Germany in the period during which Germany will be carrying out the basic requirements of unconditional surrender:-

Article 1.

Supreme authority in Germany will be exercised, on instructions from their respective Governments, by the Commanders-in-Chief of the armed forces of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, each in his own zone of occupation, and also jointly, in matters affecting Germany as a whole, in their capacity as members of the supreme organ of control constituted under the present Agreement.

Article 2.

Each Commander-in-Chief in his zone of occupation will have attached to him military, naval and air representatives of the other two Commanders-in-Chief for liaison duties.

Article 3.

(a) The three Commanders-in-Chief, acting together as a body, will constitute a supreme organ of control called the Control Council.

(b) The functions of the Control Council will be:-

(i) to ensure appropriate uniformity of action by the Commanders-in-Chief in their respective zones of occupation;

(ii) to initiate plans and reach agreed decisions on the chief military, political, economic and other questions affecting Germany as a whole, on the basis of instructions received by each Commander-in-Chief from his Government

(iii) to control the German central administration, which will operate under the direction of the Control Council and will be responsible to it for ensuring compliance with its demands;

(iv)/

(iv) to direct the administration of "Greater Berlin" through appropriate organs.

(c) The Control Council will meet at least once in ten days; and it will meet at any time upon request of any one of its members. Decisions of the Control Council shall be unanimous. The chairmanship of the Control Council will be held in rotation by each of its three members.

(d) Each member of the Control Council will be assisted by a political adviser, who will, when necessary, attend meetings of the Control Council. Each member of the Control Council may also, when necessary, be assisted at meetings of the Council by naval or air advisers.

Article 4.

A permanent Co-ordinating Committee will be established under the Control Council, composed of one representative of each of the three Commanders-in-Chief, not below the rank of General Officer or the equivalent rank in the naval or air forces. Members of the Co-ordinating Committee will, when necessary, attend meetings of the Control Council.

Article 5.

The duties of the Co-ordinating Committee, acting on behalf of the Control Council and through the Control Staff, will include:-

(a) the carrying out of the decisions of the Control Council;

(b) the day-to-day supervision and control of the activities of the German central administration and institutions;

(c) the co-ordination of current problems which call for uniform measures in all three zones;

(d) the preliminary examination and preparation for the Control Council of all questions submitted by individual Commanders-in-Chief.

Article 6.

(a) The members of the Control Staff, appointed by their respective national authorities, will be organised in the following Divisions:-

Military; Naval; Air; Transport; Political; Economic; Finance; Reparation, Deliveries and Restitution; Internal Affairs and Communications; Legal; Prisoners of War and Displaced Persons; Man-power.

Adjustments in the number and functions of the Divisions may be made in the light of experience.

(b)/

(b) At the head of each Division there will be three high-ranking officials, one from each Power. The duties of the three heads of each Division, acting jointly, will include:-

(i) exercising control over the corresponding German Ministries and German central institutions;

(ii) acting as advisers to the Control Council and, when necessary, attending meetings thereof;

(iii) transmitting to the German central administration the decisions of the Control Council, communicated through the Co-ordinating Committee.

(c) The three heads of a Division will take part in meetings of the Co-ordinating Committee at which matters affecting the work of their Division are on the agenda.

(d) The staffs of the Divisions may include civilian as well as military personnel. They may also, in special cases, include nationals of other United Nations, appointed in their personal capacity.

Article 7.

(a) An Inter-Allied Governing Authority (Komendatura) consisting of three Commandants, one from each Power, appointed by their respective Commanders-in-Chief, will be established to direct jointly the administration of the "Greater Berlin" area. Each of the Commandants will serve in rotation, in the position of Chief Commandant, as head of the Inter-Allied Governing Authority.

(b) A Technical Staff, consisting of personnel of each of the three Powers, will be established under the Inter-Allied Governing Authority, and will be organised to serve the purpose of supervising and controlling the activities of the local organs of "Greater Berlin" which are responsible for its municipal services.

(c) The Inter-Allied Governing Authority will operate under the general direction of the Control Council and will receive orders through the Co-ordinating Committee.

Article 8.

The necessary liaison with the Governments of other United Nations chiefly interested will be ensured by the appointment by such Governments of military missions (which may include civilian members) to the Control Council, having access, through the appropriate channels, to the organs of control.

Article 9.

United Nations' organisations which may be admitted by the Control Council to operate in Germany will, in respect of their activities in Germany, be subordinate to the Allied control

machinery.

machinery and answerable to it.

Article 10.

The Allied organs for the control and administration of Germany outlined above will operate during the initial period of the occupation of Germany immediately following surrender, that is, the period when Germany is carrying out the basic requirements of unconditional surrender.

Article 11.

The question of the Allied organs required for carrying out the functions of control and administration in Germany in a later period will be the subject of a separate Agreement between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

The above text of the Agreement on Control Machinery in Germany between the Governments of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has been prepared and unanimously adopted by the Representatives of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the European Advisory Commission at a meeting held on 14th November, 1944, and is now submitted to their respective Governments for approval.

For the Representative of the Government of the United States of America on the European Advisory Commission:	Representative of the Government of the United Kingdom on the European Advisory Commission:	Representative of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the European Advisory Commission:
Philip E. Mosely	William Strang	A. Gusev

LANCASTER HOUSE,
LONDON, S.W.1.

14th November, 1944.

11-25-44

PSF

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72
By [illegible] Date [illegible] 1972

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

There is enclosed herewith a photostatic copy of the [illegible] in the European Advisory Commission for submission to the American, British and Soviet Governments, on the [illegible] control machinery in Germany, together with a [illegible] of the meeting of the Commission on November 14, 1944, at which the agreement was signed.

[illegible] 25 [illegible] the United [illegible] Government's [illegible] of this agreement. Copies are also being submitted to the Secretary of War and to the Secretary of the Navy.

Enclosure:

As stated.

BSF
Germany

[redacted]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

PSF

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

[illegible] 4, 1944.

[illegible]

[illegible] A. [illegible], Jr.

[illegible] of October [illegible] [illegible] of Germany. [illegible] which I enclose the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] (1) [illegible] in the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to any [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] better how things are going to work [illegible].

(2) No [illegible] against reparations.

(3) No [illegible] restitution of looted property of all kinds.

[redacted]

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72
By _____ Date FEB 9 1972

THE UNDERSECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

November [illegible], 1944

[illegible]

Subject: [illegible] Views of the Honorable [illegible]
[illegible]

For your convenience I have [illegible] the [illegible] received from the [illegible] the British views on the economic treatment [illegible]

The [illegible] generally confirm the [illegible] which we outlined in the [illegible] of November 10 on the economic treatment [illegible] British officials seem strongly opposed to [illegible] of de-industrialization and extensive [illegible] reparations. They are [illegible] to explore [illegible] trade controls and restrictions, but [illegible] of specific proposals [illegible] restrictions and limitations of [illegible]

The British emphasize the need for [illegible] which will enjoy lasting public support [illegible] be [illegible] a generation hence, after the [illegible] of revenge have cooled down.

They advocate conversion of the German [illegible] including reduction of payment of reparation [illegible]

They are [illegible] to begin discussions on the [illegible] looted property [illegible] of [illegible] questions is not yet [illegible], but they intend to introduce shortly into the European Advisory Commission a proposal on machinery to handle restitution.

3857
hmo

PSF: Germany folder 1-44

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 11, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

HON. JAMES F. BYRNES

Please speak to me about this at your leisure. It is very old but it is still current.

F. D. R.

Letter to Gen. Watson from Bernard M. Baruch, 9/21/44, in re occupation, reparation and economic treatment of Germany and the other countries.

PSF: Germany

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

December 14, 1944.

MEMORANDUM FOR

S. I. R.

Will you read and talk with me about this when we get up the Annual Message?

F. D. R.

PSF: Romania

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES
WASHINGTON, D. C.

[redacted]

11 December 1944

Miss Grace Tully
The White House

Dear Grace:

The President will probably be interested in the enclosed radiotelephone message from our Berne representative. I will appreciate your seeing that it reaches his desk.

Sincerely yours,

Bill

William J. Donovan
Director

Enclosure.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

WASHINGTON, D. C.

11 December 1944

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

I think you will be interested in the attached report from the OSS representative in Berne, which came to us via radiotelephone. It is a rather full summary of an article in the 8 December issue of Neue Zuercher Zeitung, concerning Germany's power of resistance.

Donovan

William J. Donovan
Director

Enclosure.

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

DATE [illegible]

FROM [illegible]

PRIORITY

ROUTINE

DEFERRED

TO

DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

DISTRIBUTION

(FOR ACTION) (FOR INFORMATION)

RECEIVED IN PLAIN TEXT

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

FROM [illegible] TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES REF. NO. [illegible]

RECEIVED

would not have been possible in any other European country, because the population would have prevented. The strength of the Nazi regime lies in the knowledge that it is easy to rule the German people when on their knees, for they are used to it. The people look upon the State as the supreme authority, to which the individual is due. The Germans have no tradition of personal rights or liberty, such as exists in the Anglo-Saxon countries and Scandinavia. Germany, from which the Reich springs, was always a country where the mass of subjects bowed to the rule of a master class. It is the same today. The Weimar Republic failed in the end because of the lack of any strong democratic spirit. The people freely obey the Nazi leaders, just as they obeyed their princes and kings in the past.

However, no amount of abject obedience and no political police could account for the mobilization of Germany in this war. They are inconceivable without a good measure of spontaneous, voluntary cooperation. There is no doubt that National Socialism has taken deep roots in the German people. At the time of Hitler's great triumph, he had practically the whole nation behind him, and this applies particularly to his foreign policy. Thereby Hitler, in reality, had a latent assistant. His plan of organized total warfare - a policy found general approval in Germany. The Germans are convinced that they did not get a square deal when the spoils of war were divided. They desired world power, and they do not care much whether other European nations live under it in the process. There was no great enthusiasm in Germany when the war broke out in 1939, but the people were very proud to witness the fruits of victory and fully backed up the Nazis in their endeavors to elevate Germany to the rank of a world power. There was complete agreement between government and people in that respect. The Germans are a military nation, they enjoy militarism. Martial music, marching and drill parades are highly rated. In no other country is a soldier so respected and so prepared to die. This is the strong support of National Socialism, as they know that any appeal to the martial virtues will always find a response. The German youth burns to show its metals at the front.

It is true that the time of easy victories has passed. The reverses following Stalingrad have created new problems in the country. Inevitably, National Socialism has lost prestige, but it has succeeded in maintaining much of its domination of the soul of the people. This is their opinion: "We are all in the same boat. You cannot get out. Whether you agree with us or not does not matter. If we sink, you will go down with us. So help us or bear your sad lot as best to you." After Stalingrad, Dr. Goebbels resolutely revised his propaganda. The tone of work was changed to the tune of self-preservation. He arouses people fear of the consequences of defeat. The Germans are inclined to point out future hard respecting the country and himself. He implores that Russian

OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES

OFFICIAL DISPATCH

FROM Berne TO DIRECTOR, OFFICE OF STRATEGIC SERVICES REF. NO.

RECEIVED

[illegible] Hitler may be expected to [illegible] Hitler. He trembles before the fact of [illegible] and relevance of war would [illegible] and [illegible] the Allies will [illegible] Germany's [illegible] the constitution [illegible] law, and the substitute [illegible] they know that they have no choice [illegible] because

[illegible] are prepared by their state of mind for [illegible] power. They are speaking on [illegible] the accompanying [illegible] of Germany in the [illegible] [illegible] of the [illegible] of [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] and incapable of understanding the psychology of the Germans. It is also noticed that what [illegible] would be realize that the [illegible] propaganda satisfies the needs of the people within [illegible] to be [illegible] ing degree, [illegible] here from home. [illegible] and even the [illegible] propaganda [illegible] up facts. But, again [illegible] Dr. Goebbels has [illegible] opposed to keeping in touch with the sentiments of the people, and they still listen to him.

Germany's enemies have so far [illegible] complicated his task by prosecuting the war in a [illegible] manner in certain respects. Because they [illegible] to forestall any [illegible] of a plot in the back [illegible] spread after the last war, they [illegible] refrain from any promises which might invite the German public to give in. They do not even enumerate any concrete peace plan. This has been [illegible] advantage. But the price they pay is very high. It took a catastrophe [illegible] to carry the internal opposition into the open. Could that opposition [illegible] the German people a better peace than the Nazis? We think not. So far, the Allies have not offered the opposition any [illegible] encouragement. On the contrary, they have [illegible] and again [illegible] the people and the [illegible] by statements published, either out of [illegible] or [illegible] purpose. In [illegible] a recent [illegible] the Argentina plan gave [illegible] the large people [illegible] the way able to prove to his [illegible] that the enemy planned the enslavement of Germany. [illegible] the Argentina statement in his [illegible] prove [illegible] as the official policy of the Reich and Mussolini, but said [illegible] the [illegible] which the plan caused in England and America. In a word, the German propaganda deliberately exaggerated all [illegible] of this sort.

Of course, intelligent newspaper readers were also aware of this trick, but that did not [illegible] their apprehensions, the conviction that Germany has nothing to expect from defeat [illegible] and confusion still prevails, and that accounts for the fact that the Germans continue to fight. It is not a question of a [illegible] of the leaders itself, and to have that, every German is bound to obey the [illegible] of the opposition.

PSF: Germany

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

file personal

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Comparison of the recommendations of the Kilgore Subcommittee with those of the Department on the economic treatment of Germany.

For your information I attach herewith a memorandum comparing the recommendations of the Kilgore Subcommittee for the economic treatment of Germany with the Department's draft proposals which I submitted to you on November 11th.

I believe the Department's recommendations on the treatment of cartels, of German industrialists, and of the arms industry are very nearly the same as those of the Kilgore Subcommittee. The Kilgore proposal, however, for the complete dismantling of the metallurgical and chemical industries is much more drastic than that which the Department has believed to be sound and desirable.

E. R. Stettinius Jr.

Enclosure:
Memorandum.

THE UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Comparison of the recommendations of the Kilgore Subcommittee with those of the Department on the economic treatment of Germany.

The present recommendations of the report of the Kilgore Subcommittee with respect to the economic treatment of Germany are as follows:

1. There should be a sweeping reform of the structure and control of German industry to permit a peaceful and democratic Germany to arise. This reform should consist of a breaking up of monopolies and cartels, punishment of, say, ten thousand of the leading imperialist-minded German industrialists, and confiscation of German property abroad and patent rights.

2. All direct munitions industries should be dismantled and the primary indirect munitions industries including the metallurgical and chemical industries should be dismantled and removed to devastated areas of Europe. The fate of the remainder of German industry is made dependent upon future political developments in Germany.

The Kilgore report also contains certain recommendations affecting international cartels, patent licensing agreements, and the exchange of technological "know how".

The

The recommendations of the Kilgore Subcommittee with respect to reform of the structure and control of German industry, although more drastic and positive in tone, are not markedly at variance with the views of the Department. In the Department's draft memorandum on the economic treatment of Germany it was recommended we should attempt to reach an agreement with the British and Russians regarding control of large German industrial firms and the elimination of Nazi industrialists from positions of influence, and it was proposed that we should advocate a policy more drastic than the British now favor but less drastic than Russia might be inclined to apply. The Kilgore suggestion that as many as ten thousand leading industrialists require punishment seems rather extreme. With respect to the breaking up of industrial combinations and cartels, it remains to be seen how far Britain and Russia will go along with American views on this subject and the need must be kept in mind for a maximum degree of uniformity of policy between the three Powers.

The Kilgore recommendations for dismantling of the munitions, metallurgical and chemical industries is much more drastic than the proposal contained in the Department's draft which recommended:

1. The destruction of all specialized facilities used for the manufacture of land and naval armament and all types of aircraft, and,

2. The transfer of such German capital equipment as can be promptly put to effective use in liberated countries during the initial period of rehabilitation. While a considerable portion of the capital equipment of the metallurgical and

chemical

chemical industries could usefully be transferred to liberated countries to aid in their rehabilitation, the Kilgore proposal for the thorough dismantling of those industries conflicts sharply with the views expressed in the Department's draft.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Subject: Comparison of the recommendations of the Kilgore Subcommittee with those of the Department on the economic treatment of Germany.

For your information I attach herewith a memorandum comparing the recommendations of the Kilgore Subcommittee for the economic treatment of Germany with the Department's draft proposals which I submitted to you on November 11th.

I believe the Department's recommendations on the treatment of cartels, of German industrialists, and of the arms industry are very nearly the same as those of the Kilgore Subcommittee. The Kilgore proposal, however, for the complete dismantling of the metallurgical and chemical industries is much more drastic than that which the Department has believed to be sound and desirable.

Enclosure:
Memorandum.

PSF
Germany

[redacted]

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. Letter, 1-11-72
By _____ Date FEB 9 1972

INCOMING TELEGRAM

DIVISION OF COMMUNICATIONS AND RECORDS

[illegible]

[illegible] [redacted]

London

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

The French representative on the European Advisory Commission has circulated a memorandum setting forth the views of his Government which purport to be the [illegible] of conditions under which France would be prepared on ground of occupation with our [illegible], and the signature on control machinery. The [illegible] expresses general approval of the contents of the [illegible] and sets forth as some doubt [illegible] France to take part in the occupation and control machinery as well as in the signature of the surrender instrument. The memorandum sets the Commission [illegible] adopt recommendations [illegible]

(one) Participation of France in the [illegible] machinery for Germany.

(two) French participation in the [illegible]

[illegible]

PSF: Germany general, 1-45

THE SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY
WASHINGTON

January 10, 1945.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

Printed, without postscript, in Senate Internal Security Sub-Committee print, 90th Congress, 1st Session, Morgenthau Diary (Germany), vol. 1, pp. 368-380.

During the last few months we have been giving further study to the problem of what to do with Germany after her defeat.

We are more convinced than ever that if we really mean to deprive Germany of the ability to make war again within a few years it is absolutely essential that she be deprived of her chemical, metallurgical and electrical industries. We don't think that this alone will guarantee peace, but that it is one of the steps we must take now.

We base this conclusion on the following premises, which seem to us unassailable:

(1) The German people have the will to try it again.

(2) Programs for democracy, re-education and kindness cannot destroy this will within any brief time.

(3) Heavy industry is the core of Germany's war-making potential.

Nearly all Americans grant the first point. A few, such as Dorothy Thompson, appear to disagree with the second; but all that we know and have learned recently--our experience with war prisoners, for instance--seems to argue against them. As to the third, America's own accomplishments in four years seem to us a shining lesson of what an equally versatile people can do. Our industry was converted from the world's greatest peacetime producer in 1940 to the world's greatest producer of military weapons in 1944. The Germans are versatile. Leave them the necessary heavy industry to build on and they can work as fast and as effectively as we.

The more I think of this problem, and the more I hear and read discussions of it, the clearer it seems to me that the real motive of most of those who oppose a weak Germany is not any actual disagreement on these three points. On the contrary, it is simply an expression of fear of Russia and communism. It is the twenty-year-old idea of a "bulwark against bolshevism"--which was one of the factors that brought this present war down on us.

Because the people who hold this view are unwilling (for reasons which, no doubt, they regard as statesmanlike) to come out in the open and lay the real issue on the table, all sorts of smoke screens are thrown up to support the proposition that Germany must be rebuilt. Examples are:

(a) The fallacy that Europe needs a strong industrial Germany.

(b) The contention that recurring reparations (which would require immediate reconstruction of the German economy) are necessary so that Germany may be made to pay for the destruction she has caused.

(c) The naive belief that the removal or destruction of all German war materials and the German armament industry would in itself prevent Germany from waging another war.

(d) The illogical assumption that a "soft" peace would facilitate the growth of democracy in Germany.

(e) The fallacy that making Germany a predominantly agricultural country, with light industries but no heavy industries, would mean starving Germans.

We can submit to you studies which in our opinion will demonstrate that these propositions and others leading to the same conclusions are false.

This thing needs to be dragged out into the open. I feel so deeply about it that I speak strongly. If we don't face it I am just as sure as I can be that we are going to let a lot of hollow and hypocritical propaganda lead us into recreating a strong Germany and making a foe of Russia. I shudder for the sake of our children to think of what will follow.

There is nothing that I can think of that can do more at this moment to engender trust or distrust between the United States and Russia than the position this Government takes on the German problem.

Henry Morgenthau Jr.
Secretary of the Treasury.

P.S. I have sent a copy of this letter to Ed. Stettinius.

POST-WAR GERMANY

1. Dismemberment

No enforced partition of Germany into two or three autonomous states. Acquiescence with such arrangement as may be agreed upon by the European neighbors of Germany regarding East Prussia, Silesia, the Ruhr, the Saar and the Rhineland. Encouragement of plebiscites (in Bavaria, for example) whereby the people may themselves decide for or against inclusion with Prussia in a German state.

2. Reparations

No attempt to exact payment of reparations in money, credits or manufactured goods. Removal from Germany of such items as railroad equipment, machinery, livestock and works of art to be not a punitive operation but for the purpose of restoring or replacing stolen property to the people who have been plundered.

3. Control of expression

During the period of control of Germany by Allied Military Government the country will be in effect under martial law, which means control of all activities. As the strict control by martial law is relaxed, and finally ends, control of all forms of expression -- newspapers, magazines, books, radio, school curricula and texts -- will perforce be restored to the Germans, under the government which will have been set up under AMG control.

4. Punishment of War Criminals

There is no recognized international civil code under which "war criminals" can be indicted, tried and convicted by

judicial process. Under martial law the civil code is suspended. Those who have violated accepted military codes can and should be punished by military procedure.

5. Relief

Any relief to the people of Germany to come after relief to the peoples of the liberated countries has been accomplished.

6. Political control

To be exercised only during the regime of Allied Military Government. When that ends, political control of Germany from without should also end.

7. Industry

The return (or replacement) of stolen machinery to the plundered countries, plus the removal from Germany of all machinery usable for the manufacture of war goods or easily convertible to that purpose, will be the one effective means of rendering it impossible for the Germans to prepare for another war. This operation should therefore be carried out thoroughly and energetically, with no concessions to any groups or pressures. The additional step necessary to make Germany physically incapable of preparing for another war is to place allocation of all raw materials in Europe -- both those originating in Europe and those imported -- under control of an international commission of the United Nations. Only such raw materials should be allowed to Germany as are manifestly necessary for manufacture of domestic consumer goods, and checks should be devised to insure their use solely for that purpose. Basement of this control as applied specifically to Germany industry should be determined not by the calendar, but by the political orientation of the new German regime and by

the degree of security from war offered by a United Nations world peace organisation.

8. Conscription of labor

The justice of the demand that Germans help to rebuild what they have destroyed is acknowledged. Also the detention of large numbers of German men in other countries for periods ranging from two to five years would help to counteract the results of the biological warfare practised by the Germans since 1939. Acquiescence in such decisions regarding it as may be made by those who have suffered most - the people of the countries which the Germans have occupied and despoiled.

9. General

All details of the treatment of Germany should be based on decisions by the United Nations, not by any one country or group.

The restoration of political autonomy to Germany should begin with small units - villages, towns, cities, sections - and should proceed gradually toward the final objective of centralized authority in a state. The tempo of procession toward that final objective and the duration of the regime of Allied Military Government should be determined solely by the course of events, both as regards the development of democratic forces among Germans and as regards the establishment of a world organization competent to preserve the peace against the threat of aggression from any quarter.

THESE ARE THE FACTS.

Twice within 25 years, Germany has plunged the world into war.

Incomplete knowledge of the danger has led many people to believe that wiping out Hitler and Nazism will be sufficient to secure a lasting peace.

Directly after World War I, a campaign of sympathy and rehabilitation for Germany was organized in the English-speaking countries, with the avowed aim of destroying the Versailles Treaty.

Powerful groups have tried, and are still trying (even today in many American Universities) to create the belief that Germany was not guilty for World War I, and that consequently the German people were treated with great injustice.

The resurrection of German Power after World War I was due to a large extent to the systematic activities of well-organized pro-German groups which exerted growing influence on the political, economic and cultural life of many countries during the last decades, principally in the Americas.

Germany and her General Staff established thousands of agents in various countries to carry out military, economic and political missions.

German economic penetration in the various countries, achieved very often with unfair methods, was the forerunner of German political activities in those countries. German businessmen everywhere have been the willing tools of the German General Staff in its plans for world conquest.

For many decades, America's cultural life has been indoctrinated with German propaganda through the universities and intellectual circles.

Countless "German-conscious" groups like the Steuben Society and fraternal clubs outwardly respectable as Turnvereine, singing societies, and "old hometown" German newspapers, whose subtle effectiveness can be appreciated or even detected only by students of German semantics-have been useful instruments for Pan-Germanism and a vehicle for pro-Nazi propaganda, at the same time opposing the World Court and all other forms of international cooperation.

Leaders of German-American groups and of their press publicly incited their adherents to use their right to vote to advance purely German interests, i.e., to vote only for candidates who were friendly to the Third Reich.

Right after the first World War, the pro-Germans started their whining campaign and the Steuben Society of America has officially admitted that they struggled for the return of enemy alien property, that they fought the Treaty of Versailles and that they helped the German people to prosperity again.

This time the pro-Germans do not even wait for the end of the war and , while our boys are being killed, while Germans are murdering American prisoners of war, a campaign-to "salvage the German people" and to differentiate between the bad Nazis (who probably came from the moon) and the good, misled German people-is in full swing.

Councils and committees, backed by powerful industialists, clergymen, university professors, leading liberals, writers, etc. are being formed, actively engaged in a struggle to obtain:

1. That Germany should get the benefits of the Atlantic Charter.
2. That the political and economic strength of Germany should be maintained.
3. That the productive power of Germany must be preserved.
4. That the German people shall be given a peace which they can regard as just.

For example, such policies are being advocated now by the Council for a Democratic Germany, led by German refugees like Paul Hagen, Hermann Budzislawski, Paul Tillich etc. and by American liberals such as Dean Christian Gauss, Prof. John Dewey, Reinhold Niebuhr, Dorothy Thompson, Hiram Motherwell, Robert Mc Iver and many others.

Since the country is at war, many pan-German groups have cleverly wrapped themselves in the national flag, eagerly waiting for the day when they can strive again to alienate us from our erstwhile comrades-in-arms, and resume the drive back to isolationism, just as after World War I.

All the abovementioned activities combined, if not checked, might result in the winning of the peace by Germany.

Isn't ~~It is~~ not for our self-interest, as well as the duty of every democratic organization, to warn the world of the danger to humanity embodied in a strong Germany, nourished upon the Pan-German principles which have been the basis of German Kultur for so many generations and have brought so many tragedies upon the world?

Must not our paramount consideration ~~not~~ be our own security and should not every approach to the German problem be based primarily on the need for that security?

In one word, are we going to let History repeat itself or are we going to protect ourselves by studying this problem, understanding it, and insisting on its solution?

1.L

PSF
Germany

[redacted]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72

By _____ Date _____

Department of State

[illegible]

[illegible]

To

[illegible]

[illegible]

The Principal

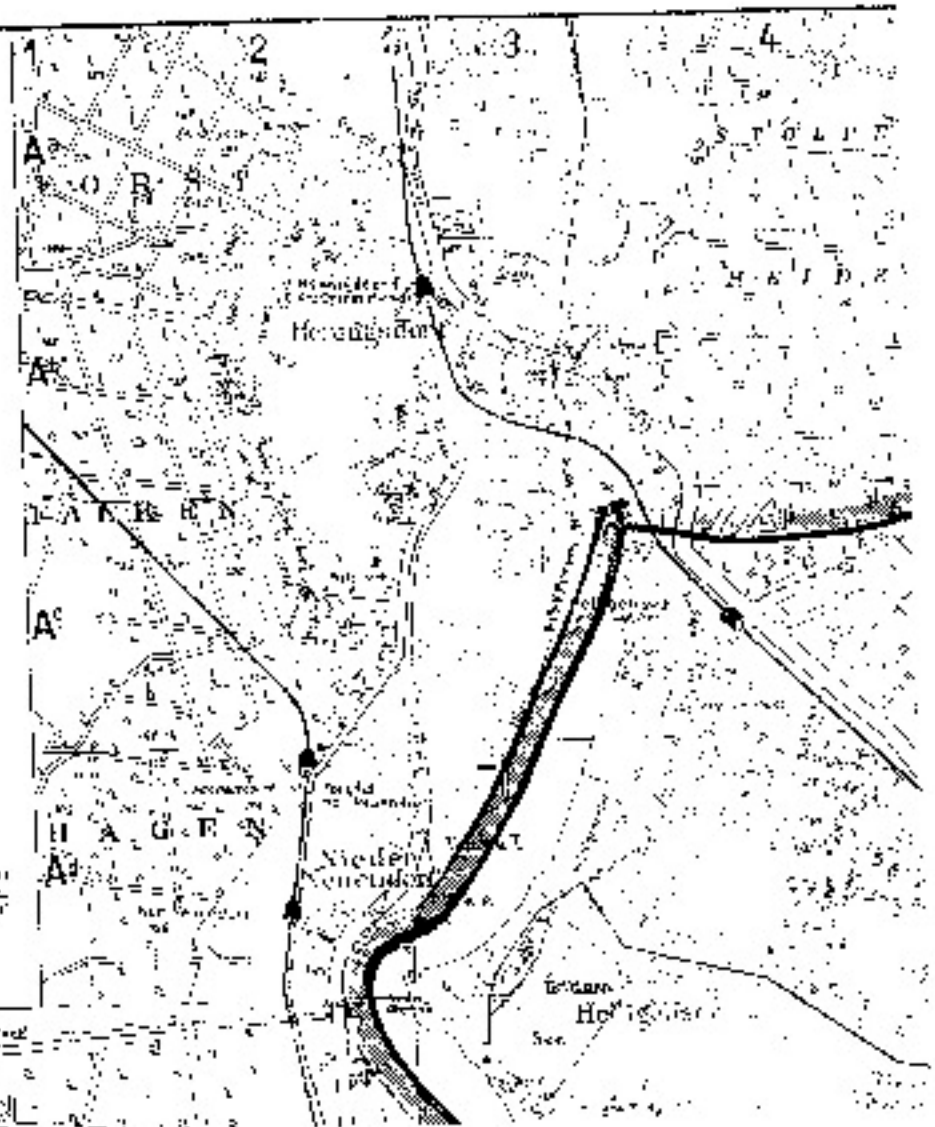
[redacted]

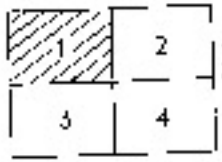
GERMANY

BERLIN

Sheet

LEGEND





PROOF

GERMANY: ZONES OF OCCUPATION

INTERNATIONAL FRONTIERS 1937 · INTERNAL BOUNDARIES 1941

PSF: Germany Conferences 1-45

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION
WASHINGTON

January 22, 1945.

Dear Miss Tully:

I shall appreciate your placing this among the President's papers. It is a matter about which he might like to know and perhaps he may have an opportunity to study it a little before he gets to the conference.

Sincerely yours,

Leo Crowley

Miss Grace Tully,
Secretary to the President,
The White House.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ADMINISTRATION
OFFICE OF THE ADMINISTRATOR
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

January 30, 1945

MEMORANDUM BRIEFLY DESCRIBING FEA'S STUDY PROJECT
RELATING TO GERMAN ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL DISARMAMENT

Pursuant to the President's request, FEA is making a study of German industry and resources in cooperation with the Department of State.

We will not undertake to determine policy but will develop material that should inform the President on all phases of the German economy, cataloging the facts relative to each activity or resource, indicating the controls that may be necessary to accomplish the desired objectives, and projecting the effects of the controls, both for the country as a whole and by such areas as may be assigned to each of the Allies.

With this material available the President can avoid the situation President Wilson faced after World War I when the British were the much better informed, as reported by Churchill in a book entitled "The Aftermath," published in 1929.

At present, the British have the advantage in their current studies since they embarked on a full-fledged program well in advance of even preliminary consideration of a similar project in this country. We do not know what the Russians have done in this field.

We hope to overcome one present deficiency by having the fullest cooperation of all agencies which have developed information or have technical personnel qualified to assist in hastening the completion of the project. In this connection we will have the full use of the Technical Industrial Intelligence Committee (T.I.I.C.) which was recently established within FEA.

In general, the project contemplates:

(1) the preparation of a series of factual reports cataloging the industrial, agricultural and natural resources and productive capacity of Germany by areas;

(2) the submission of tentative recommendations as to steps that might be taken to accomplish desired objectives based on assumed hypotheses as to overall policy;

(3) a preparation of a series of reports projecting the probable effects of various forms of control which may be exercised; and

(4) the preparation of reports, if desired, projecting the effect of controls and policies finally determined upon.

The general premises on which the project will be based are:

(1) that the production of armament, munitions and implements of war should be prohibited and the facilities therefor removed or converted to other useful production;

(2) that the German aviation industry, military and civilian, should be wiped out;

(3) that it may be desirable to eliminate certain key industries or segments thereof which are essential to war, with the result that essential civilian needs in Germany for the products of the selected industries should be supplied from external sources;

(4) that it may be desirable to limit or regulate certain industrial and economic activities so as to prevent either a re-establishment of industrial war potential or an undue German domination of the European economy.

It is hoped that our work in this field will make it possible for the President to be completely informed about all economic and industrial aspects of Germany, both for the country as a whole and by such areas as may be assigned to each the United States, Great Britain and Russia, presenting a picture of the situation as it exists at the end of the war and as it changes after giving effect to programs agreed upon.

PSF
Germany

TESTATESTA

Treasury file

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

March 6, 1945.

[redacted]

MEMORANDUM FOR

THE SECRETARY OF STATE:

I have read your memorandum of November eleventh on Economic Treatment of Germany. Frankly, I do not understand it and I think you had better bring this with you and talk with me about it some day.

F.D.R.

PSF
- Germany

[redacted]

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72
By [illegible] Date FEB 9 1972

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

March 10, 1[illegible]

[illegible] PLEASE

[illegible] MESSAGE

I am [illegible] herewith a message from [illegible] in response to a report [illegible] High Commissioner [illegible] received in [illegible] with a view to [illegible] terms.

[illegible]

Acting Secretary

[illegible]

Copy of telegram
No. [illegible] from [illegible],
March 9, 1947.

[illegible]

[redacted]

[illegible]

[redacted]

[illegible]

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] kind, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] in [illegible] conversations, of course, would be conducted only on basis of unconditional (repeat unconditional) surrender.

KIRK

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

PSF
Germany

April 9, 1945.

MEMORANDUM

FOR THE PRESIDENT OF BRAZIL

I have just had a special cable from Churchill and Roosevelt.

I am clear that there should be one of Army and Navy representatives of first rank.

My original thought, which I still think is right, is that the question of children of the world should be before peoples which by right should be the problem of those children will be one of great care from now.

F. D. R.

[redacted]

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED
State Dept. letter, 1-11-72
By [illegible] Date FEB 9 1972

[illegible] 194[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

In [illegible] to a request from Colonel [illegible], the [illegible] herewith the full text of a telegram [illegible] the text of the letter [illegible] General [illegible] Germany, [illegible] in the Department's daily [illegible] 30.

Acting Secretary

Enclosure:

Copy of telegram
No. [illegible] from London,
[illegible] 1945.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

Bonn

Dated March 26, 1970

Rec'd 9:08 p.m.

Department of State,

Washington.

[illegible]

US FLASH

BONN, March 26, 9 p.m.

FOR THE SECRETARY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY [illegible]

[illegible]

Special Cessna Service #.

I want to keep you fully abreast of the [illegible] the talks on Disarmament in Geneva, which was [illegible] by cessation of the Delhi Conference. It is [illegible] to summarize the initial phase of the Committee's proceedings.

In order to facilitate handling, I shall brief by telegrams on this potentially explosive subject on "personal [illegible] series" and address them as above. In [illegible] these matters will be handled by me personally, with Donelly's assistance. For purposes of number [illegible], February 02, 3 p.m., should be considered as "Personal

Cessna

FEB 1 1972

[illegible], [illegible], 6 p.m., from London

[illegible] the necessities to include a French representative. In view of the simultaneous discussions about Indochina [illegible] in the reparations committee in Moscow, Mr. Eden and I have refrained from raising the question of French membership in the Dismemberment Committee. Meanwhile the formal adherence of France to the surrender instrument from Germany is also in abeyance until the three powers decide to inform the French of the addition to Article [illegible] of the instrument as agreed at Yalta (FDR telegram February 28, 8 p.m.). Yesterday Massigli made [illegible] to Mr. Eden, urging perhaps formal adherence [illegible] the instrument. In any case the French would [illegible] if they were [illegible] Germany [illegible] the three governments on this [illegible].

[illegible] I have asked Gromyko if [illegible] Germany would not [illegible] unfavorably [illegible] reparations which could be secured from the Ruhr economy. Gromyko [illegible] to see [illegible] terms consisting only of the total amount of reparations available. On another occasion [illegible] Molotov led him to believe that [illegible] would exist in Germany [illegible] the German [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] of support population. [illegible] question [illegible] marked with an asterisk [illegible] "no".

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

FEB 9 1972

[illegible], [illegible], Great London

[illegible] implementation of the Commander, [illegible] Government [illegible] London Summer Conference decision [illegible] of Germany's disarmament not as an obligatory [illegible] for disarmament but as a possibility for [illegible] [illegible] with the aim of persuading Germany's rulers [illegible] other means would prove laudable. [illegible] [illegible]. Gromyko's reply has been sent to [illegible], Mr. Eden will now acknowledge [illegible] and will [illegible] be supplied of Gromyko's letter and of his own reply.

The Soviet statement of [illegible] represents [illegible] [illegible] concept [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] "[illegible]" for effecting disarmament [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] feasibility and desirability of disarmament. [illegible] there is no indication of a third Soviet [illegible] [illegible] disarmament. Gromyko's letter while it [illegible] [illegible] this stage his government is not committed in [illegible] [illegible] a policy of disarmament.

I appreciate the indication received from [illegible] [illegible] that [illegible] see no objection to enlarging the membership of the committee

[illegible] 20070, [illegible], 9 pp., from London

[illegible] discussion [illegible] these points, and what [illegible] would change the proposal (sub two) at which time decision [illegible] be deferred only (sub three) what [illegible] the allies have in [illegible] or effectuate [illegible] in such [illegible]. [illegible] implied of the Committee clause 3 [illegible] forth under (C) above will be conducted in the light [illegible] subjects set forth in paragraphs (A) and (B). END OF [illegible]

I objected to paragraph one B of this draft, [illegible] "[illegible]" the words "destruction and control of [illegible] industry," we substituted the words "elimination [illegible] control of all German industry that could be used [illegible] war potential" in the break in the Union of Soviets. [illegible] recognized this change and Gromyko will be [illegible] in it. I have written Mr. Eden to say [illegible] this modification gave no objection to Strang's [illegible].

In reply to Strang's letter of March 9 Gromyko has [illegible] return Mr. Eden, outlining form his understanding [illegible] mandate of the Committee and stating that [illegible] objection to the formula contained in Strang's [illegible] running of paraphrase of Gromyko's [illegible] as [illegible] proposed

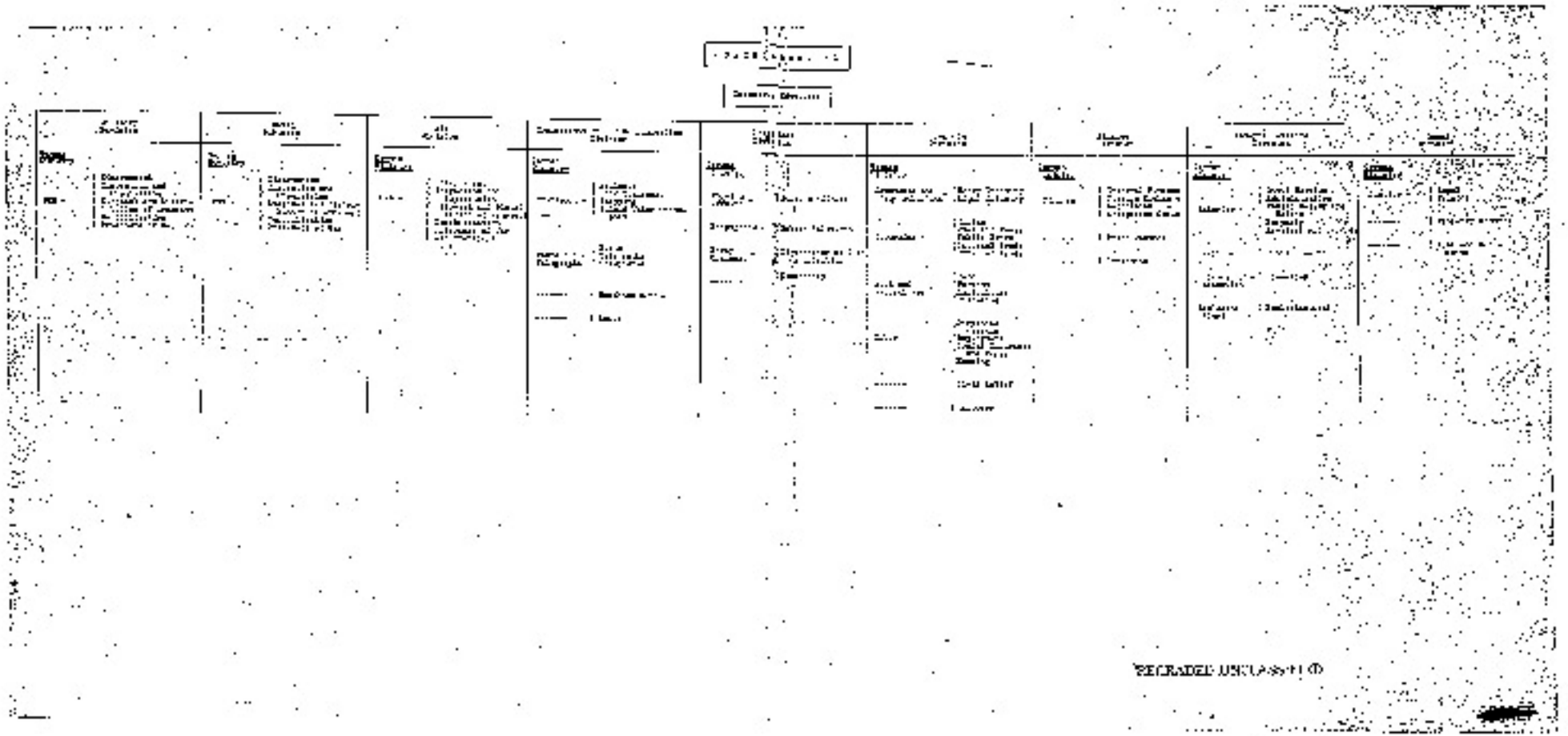
[illegible], [illegible], [illegible], from London

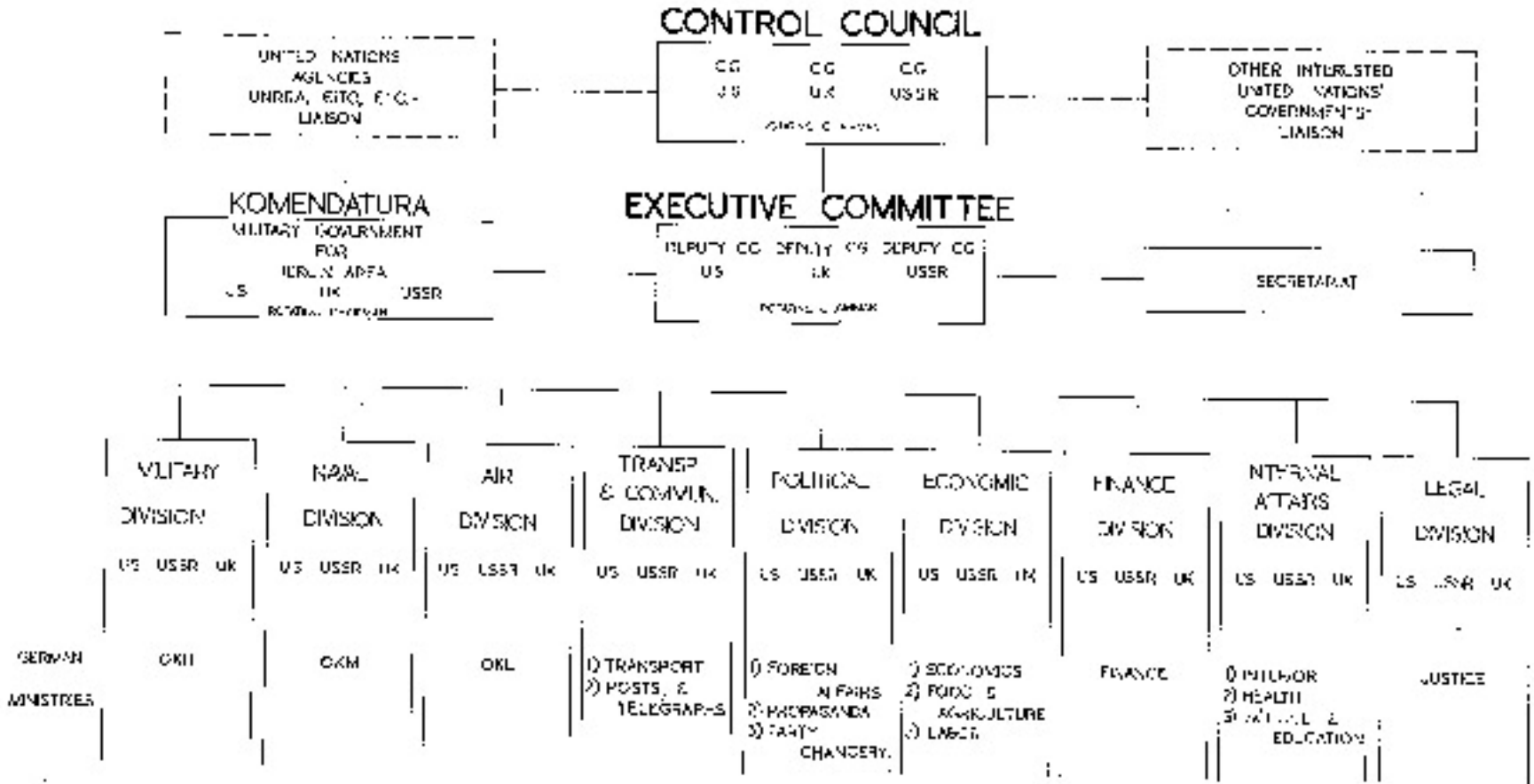
[illegible] relief".

[illegible] Dismemberment Committee has held one meeting, [illegible] March 7, attended by Mr. Eden, Gousev, Bidault and myself, which was devoted to defining the mandate of the Committee. As the chairman of the working Stratigy agreed to [illegible] our understanding of this mandate to working for submission to the three representatives.

Stratigy's draft for the Committee was circulated on March 9. Paraphrase follows: one. In examining the proposal that German dismemberment the Committee will approach the task having in mind following considerations: (A) the Allies primary objective in treatment of Germany after surrender or end of resistance is to prevent German aggression in future; (B) In considering how this objective can best be achieved, one question is whether it will be attained by measures such as control and decentralization of German industry, as supplement to demilitarization and disarmament, or whether it will be necessary, in addition, to divide Germany; (C) if, for attainment of this objective it should be found necessary to divide Germany, inquiry should be made as to (sub one) in what fashion Germany should be divided, into what sections, with what

boundaries





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